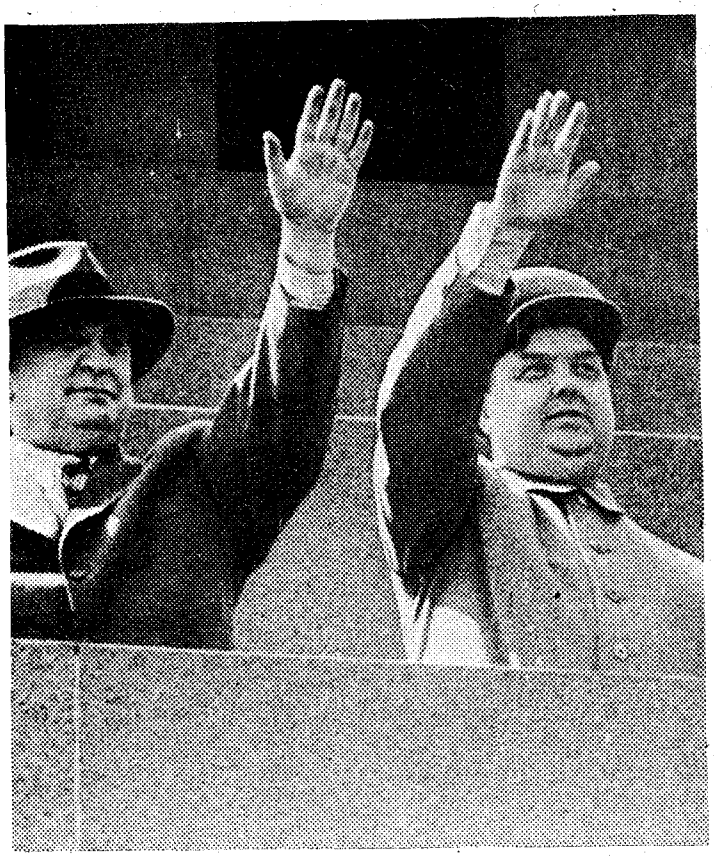
20c • JULY 20, 1953

STEPHEN SPENDER: "NEW ORTHODOXIES"

New Republic



The Fall of Beria

Purge of the Purger

HISTORY TURNS A CORNER

"The working class behind the iron curtain is turning the full power of its disillusionment against the Communist State . . ."

by Thomas Goldstein

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
JUL 22 1953

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

What's going on in Moscow nobody knows, but one way to find out might be an exploratory Big Four Conference. Britain, France and Russia want it; why Washington hangs back is hard to explain since there's nothing to lose and perhaps much to gain. Isolationist Republicans feel, however, that even to sit down with Russians represents "appeasement" and endangers their claim to being 99.5 percent more anti-Communist than anyone else. This position is simply untenable, however; world opinion won't accept it and—having taken the initiative—we believe the British will force the Administration to go along, as things stand, whether willingly or reluctantly.

We are organizing a "Mercy for Beria" crusade. This involves raising funds to send lawyers to Moscow to help defend him and, if necessary, asking for a stay of execution from Mr. Justice Vinson. We hope all the anti-American "neutralist" groups in London and Paris who have been so upset recently over American handling of espionage trials will join our movement; we particularly assign the job of picketing the Soviet embassy in London to Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman & Nation*, who has felt rather dejected recently about American justice and likened it unfavorably to Moscow's.

Joe McCarthy has caused more religious bad blood in America than any man of this generation. We think this column was among the first to point out how he was gradually tending to correlate anti-Communism with anti-Protestantism to aid his campaign for the Presidency. Then he hired J. B. Matthews to head his staff—former pal of Father Coughlin and contributor to the latter's rabid "Social Justice." McCarthy saw no reason for letting Matthews go merely because he charged 7,000 Protestant clergymen had served the "Kremlin conspiracy." But events were too much for him and Matthews is out—and so are all the Democrats on his Senate subcommittee? What does it mean?

First, it brings nearer the inevitable Eisenhower-McCarthy showdown. Ike's degrading refusal to break with McCarthy bewilders friends, stultifies his "Crusade" and makes his own nobility suspect—he is George Washington with a running sore. In this instance, however, he intervened swiftly and powerfully in behalf of "freedom and decency." It made the whole nation rejoice. But he is still firing salvos over Joe's head, not at Joe himself. It's hard to see how this pretense can last.

Second, the Democrats have now dumped McCarthy. Southern conservatives kept hands off as long as Joe's target was the liberals, but a religious war is something else. Sen. John L. McClellan (D, Ark.) faces a re-nomination battle next year, and there are Baptists and Methodists in Arkansas. (Let's be fair; McCarthy also probably made McClellan want to vomit as much as he did others.) Byrd denounced McCarthy, too. This means that McCarthy is the GOP's baby from now on. The religious issue and the anti-Protestant attack are in the lap of the Republicans. He's out of the club, so far as Democrats go. The esteemed and honorable Sen. Leverett Salonstall (R, Mass.), for example, was asked on the "Youth Wants to Know" radio forum the other day if he would accept McCarthy's support if tendered in the 1954 election. "Yes" he would welcome it. We wonder how he would answer now? It is an example of how the GOP shoe pinches.

Finally McCarthy made a typical and (let us admit it) brilliant diversionary counter-attack, offering as a "revelation" something that he had known three years, that young William Bundy, officer of the Central Intelligence Agency and son-in-law of Dean Acheson, contributed $400 to the Hiss defense fund. McCarthy is now striking—via Bundy—at CIA's head Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State. This is one time, however, when we think the Administration may keep its head. McCarthy rattled it into destroying the "Voice," and then into the incredible book-burning fiasco, but the CIA is something else again. It is true, Bundy is son-in-law of the man who would not turn his back on Alger Hiss, but he is being assailed by the man who would not turn his back on J. B. Matthews.

Virtually unnoticed, the Senate on July 9 passed a bill to undercut the Fifth Amendment to the Bill of Rights. This McCarran measure was passed without rollcall. It would require witnesses to testify against themselves by the subterfuge of first granting them federal immunity. The casuistry is that since they would be excused from penalty, they could no longer plead self-incrimination. Some limitations were thrown around this dangerous measure which the House must now act upon. The bill is a fraud because it cannot give immunity in state courts whatever it gives in federal courts. It is probably unconstitutional. But it is a new tool for McCarthy and marks a new legal high-water mark for hysterical anti-Communism. In the words of Sen. Clyde Hoey, a fine old conservative from North Carolina, "Has it come to a time when we have got to take away the constitutional right and guaranty which have been sacred through the years?" The bill was passed at a night session, July 9. The debate is on pages 8646-8663 of the *Congressional Record*, and your local newspaper probably hasn't heard about it yet.

Notes: "When critics call Syngman Rhee unco-operative, I simply do not know what they mean"; quotation from General Van Fleet in lead article of current *Reader's Digest*. . . . British correspondents here are advised Churchill is probably out for keeps: it's age and hardened arteries. . . . "I think Joe McCarthy's a great guy who had the guts to use the 'smear technique'," R. W. Scott McLeod, State Department security chief, quoted by columnist Peter Edson. . . . Tom Dewey found Washington a lonely place when he tried to block House Taft Republicans from turning Niagara Falls power over to private utilities; Dewey got Ike nominated but found little help in the White House. . . . Nobody wants to take the vacant job of US Information chief; it was hawked for a month before Johnson quit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Rhee—For and Against a Truce

AFTER TWO WEEKS of negotiations, day and night, Syngman Rhee surrendered. He declared to Walter Robertson, the President's envoy, "You have come here and you have conquered me."

Rhee was honest; the agreement, if it stands, will be remembered as a personal triumph for Robertson. In the course of two weeks he overcame the old man's conviction that he had been left out of the negotiations, and further convinced him that the United States would not give in but would sign a truce with the Communists if necessary, leaving the Republic of Korea to fend for itself.

For most of the two weeks Rhee clung to his insistence that the war be continued, now, or after the 90-day lull, until the UN forces reached the Yalu. Rhee waited for public opinion in America to rally to his position. It failed to, and he finally accepted Robertson's warning that neither the US nor the UN would go beyond the governing UN directive of repelling the aggression and restoring peace to the area.

Eventually Rhee signed a written statement, promising to release no more prisoners and to abide by the truce in return for promises of a mutual defense pact, economic aid and pressure to unify Korea by political means. The agreement affirms and Rhee agrees, that only if the North Koreans violate the armistice agreement will the United States resume the war.

Thirteen hours before a joint statement was to be released, Rhee called in the press, declared that the US had given in, and presented a distorted view of the agreement.

He declared that he had only agreed not to obstruct an armistice for 90 days while the United States tried to get the Chinese Communists out of North Korea by negotiation. This statement, in line with Syngman Rhee's first position is in basic conflict with the agreement he signed.

Regrettably the written agreement was held secret, although Rhee's deputies steadily leaked his version of the negotiations to the press. Robertson, infuriated and fearful that Rhee's action would lead the Communists to refuse to sign an armistice, made a strong protest to Rhee. He has not yet modified his stand.

Rhee's action proves that he still cannot be trusted, and that if the Communist risk an armistice Rhee may still charge some violation of its terms in order to resume the war. The Communists make this point strongly, and it is reinforced by the declaration of Rhee's Foreign Minister that the Republic will not join the North Koreans and the Chinese in signing the truce.

Rhee's purpose may still be to incite the Communists to break off negotiations. If he fails, the only safeguard we possess for the future is the strip of no man's land that will divide the armies and the deep-felt unwillingness of the US and the United Nations to start the war up again.

At the moment the issue in Korea is up to the Communists. Their present mood suggests that a truce will be signed. The greatest unknown is the impact of Beria's arrest and other internal changes in the Soviet regime on the negotiations. Insecurity in the Communist leadership might suggest a strengthened drive for settlement; it could lead instead to truculence in a show of power and force.

I want you to shake hands with—say what is wrong with you guys anyhow?

Political Trade

AFTER President Eisenhower took office, Juan Domingo Peron, dictator of Argentina, indicated a desire for better relations with the US. Peron's anti-US ravings, the controlled press' constant abuse of the US, and Argentina's neutralism in the East-West conflict had been Moscow's prime assets in South America. An Argentine-United States rapprochement, consequently, would have been a serious Communist setback.

Talks between Argentine and Russian representatives at the Moscow International Economic Conference in April of last year indicated a means to block the rapprochement. And in February of this year Stalin granted the Argentine Ambassador an unusual private audience. Now a Russian trade delegation is in Buenos Aires to sign a trade agreement. The sums involved will not be large, but the nature of the trade indicates the motive. Argentina will ship such items as linseed oil, hides and skins. In return it will receive Russian manufactured goods, machinery and oil, items which the satellites need badly.

Moscow and the Argentine Communists probably expect that the first Russo-Argentine trade agreement in many years will stimulate severe criticism in the US.

President Peron's reaction to American criticism is always the same: sound and fury. Confident of Peron's reaction, then, the Communists are drawing fire. The value they place upon inter-American ill-will is indicated by the price they are ready to pay at a time of unrest among satellite populations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Wait till after the election. . . ."

FOR THE PAST 47 years the development of electric power in this nation has been guided by a central principle: when tax money is used to develop a power source, municipalities and such non-profit organizations as rural electric co-operatives are given preference in the marketing of the power. Their needs come first. And that principle has endured despite attacks by the group which spends more for lobbying than any other group in the nation: the private utilities.

Since January, however, the principle has been undercut. Now it may be discarded. The test is Niagara.

In 1950, the US and Canada concluded a treaty for equal development of the Niagara power potential. The Senate added an unusual reservation to guarantee that Niagara would be developed "for the public use and benefit." Under the reservation, the right to harness Niagara can only be granted by an Act of Congress, not, as in most cases, by a license from the Federal Power Commission.

The House of Representatives has now approved a bill giving over Niagara to piecemeal private development, its power to be sold without preference. The bill was first introduced as the Capehart-Miller bill in 1951 to counter the Lehman-Roosevelt bill. Under the latter the federal government would have built the Niagara plant, then turned it over to the Power Authority of the State of New York on condition that the traditional preference provision be observed. The Capehart-Miller bill fared badly under a Democratic Administration, and the power companies became more concerned with stopping the Lehman bill than with passing their own. They succeeded by means of the Ives-Cole bill. This bill provided for a plant built by the state of New York and for just a bit of control. Appealing to the states' rights sentiment of some Senators, it split the Lehman supporters and assured a stalemate until after the 1952 elections.

With the Republicans in control, the private-power group no longer felt the need of a compromise bill. The Capehart-Miller bill was reintroduced as the Dondero-Miller bill—Rep. George A. Dondero (R, Mich.) is chairman of the Public Works Committee which held hearings on the bill—and the Ives-Cole bill was dropped. Cole testified in favor of the Capehart bill, saying he had never really liked the bill which bore his name and had only introduced it as a last ditch effort to stop the Lehman-Roosevelt measure. Co-sponsor Ives did not testify, but his Administrative Assistant, Dwyer Shugrue, resigned and reappeared as an attorney for the five New York power companies behind the Capehart bill: Niagara Mohawk Power, New York State Electric & Gas, Rochester Gas & Electric, Consolidated Edison of New York and Central Hudson Gas & Electric. Although not registered as a lobbyist, Mr. Shugrue spent most of his time on Capitol Hill with staff members of the Public Works Committee and various Congressmen.

As the Capehart bill picked up support, Governor Dewey of New York became worried. He was on record as favoring public development of Niagara. So Ives reintroduced his bill "by request," making it plain he no longer sponsored it. Hoping to clear up the confusion, Senator Lehman and Representative Roosevelt conferred with Dewey. They pointed out that they were less concerned with who built the Niagara plant—the federal goverernment or New York state—than with retention of the preference provision. If Dewey would agree to that provision they would back New York State as builder. Dewey said no. He wanted power from the tax-built plant turned to private utilities.

Now the Capehart bill has passed the House. But Senator Lehman has organized sufficient opposition in the Senate to stop it there this session. The fight will go over until next year.

If Lehman blocks the Capehart bill next year, the private-power group's tactic probably will be to seek repeal of the treaty reservation. The Federal Power Commission could then dispose of Niagara by license.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D, Wash.) will soon try to forestall such attempts to do administratively what cannot be done through Congress. Before adjournment he will propose an amendment to the Federal Power Act requiring specific Congressional approval of FPC licenses for development of power sources already surveyed by the government.

New Republic JULY 20, 1953 TABLE OF CONTENTS VOLUME 128 NUMBER 29 ISSUE 2016 WASHINGTON, DC

EDITOR, Michael Straight

CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Gilbert A. Harrison

MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller

LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman

STAFF WRITERS: Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin

COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.

CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Joseph Frank, Kimon Friar, Gerald W. Johnson, V. O. Key Jr., Max Lerner, Richard Lester, Arthur Mizener, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, Stephen Spender, Allen Tate

Washington Wire by T. R. B..... 2
Behind the Headlines..... 3
US Policy in Germany..... 6
by Frank Gorrell
Beria Loses: editorial..... 7
One of His Arms Is Missing: editorial..... 8
History Turns A Corner..... 9
by Thomas Goldstein
They Would Not Talk..... 11
A letter by Pliny the Younger
Batto-tai Is Sung Again..... 12
by Hessell Tiltman
The Floor Is Gone..... 14
by John Kennedy
The New Orthodoxies..... 16
by Stephen Spender
Issac Deutscher, *Russia What Next?* 17
reviewed by Ernest Simmons
J. L. Weldon, *The Naked Heart:* Robert Lowry, *The Violent Wedding;* John Stanford, *Land That Touches Mine:* Vercors, *You Shall Know Them*..... 19
reviewed by John Henry Raleigh
The Beggars' Opera..... 20
reviewed by Eric Bentley
The Record Review..... 21
by Robert Evett

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1953 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial communications should be addressed to 1825 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Business communications should be addressed to 230 West 41st St., New York 36, N.Y. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D.C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Arrested Beria—and Why?

WHO ARRESTED Lavrenti Beria, the police chief who ordered all other arrests? Beria was moving steadily to replace Communist Party men with his own appointees. In turn Malenkov, backed by the Communist Party, moved against Beria. Before he moved he secured the support of the Red Army.

The three groups, the secret police, the army and the Communist Party, share Soviet power. In turn, there are Communist Party agents in the army, secret police agents in the Communist Party, and men loyal to the Communist Party leaders in the Secret Police. One of these, Sergei Kruglov, was part of the plot that led to Beria's arrest and now replaces him. How many friends has Beria in the Communist Party and the Army? Is it too late for them to move now and, if so, is the way opened for Malenkov to assume full power?

The Secret police is presumably unable to exert itself further as an independent political force. Revolt is almost impossible in the highly centralized structure of the Communist Party. The Army has a record of greater independence. Its past leaders have been shot for pursuing their own plans. Its present leaders have no obvious reason to underwrite absolute power for Malenkov. If he has brought the Secret Police under control he must still find army leaders who will be subordinate rather than allies.

The *Pravda* editorial is the work of a writer at the mercy of events. It begins with a meaningless rehearsal of old clichés about the invincibility of the Soviet motherland and the bankruptcy of the imperialist camp. It continues with a phrase recapitulation of views expressed by Malenkov in recent speeches (thereby indicating Malenkov's dominating role in Beria's arrest). Finally it edges around to the ugly subject of the people's enemy.

There are volumes of established "crimes" from which the Soviet state may pick and chose in tearing down those marked for liquidation. Beria might have been called an adventurist, a Trotskyite, or an enemy of Malenkov's position, restated by *Pravda* that "all unsolved international questions under dispute can be solved by negotiations between the interested countries." To have branded Beria as an exponent of war and impoverishment, to have identified his prosecutors with peace and plenty would surely have been the most popular course.

Instead Beria is accused of policies which surely have widespread support in the USSR. The frankness, as well as the verbosity and incoherence, of the Pravda editorial suggests that there has not yet been time to trump up fabricated myths about Beria and that the "crimes" he is accused of are the real reason for his arrest.

Beria is accused first of impeding "decisions on most important and urgent problems concerning agriculture." Apparently this refers to his opposition to the costly and abortive efforts of Nikita Khruschev, the new general secretary of the Communist Party, to further collectivize Soviet agriculture after the war.

Beria is next accused of weakening "the multi-national socialist state" by seeking "to activize bourgeois national elements in union republics." This means simply that he supported spokesmen of national minorities particularly in Georgia and the Ukraine who resisted the destruction of their cultures and traditions in the name of Great Russia.

Beria is generally credited with moves to repudiate the final excesses of Stalin's regime such as the "doctors' plot." But in the Pravda editorial, credit for the popular step of relaxation of controls and "liquidation of some facts of lawlessness and arbitrary action" is given to the Communist Party. Beria was charged, says *Pravda*, with executing the party's popular program; instead he "impeded" and "distorted" it.

Yet the policy of compromise and relaxation progressed rapidly soon after Stalin's death and continued after Beria's arrest. The policy itself was not open to debate. Was its significance and permanence the issue?

Does "distortion" mean that Beria saw in these policies a permanent trend instead of a strategic retreat?

There are many examples of major strategic retreats, unaccompanied by any shift in underlying objectives. Lenin's New Economic Program promised protection for free enterprise and the middle class during years of disorganization and hunger. But during the same years all of the permanent foundations of the Soviet dictatorship were built. Dimitrov proclaimed that democracy was an end in itself during the days of the People's Front. Yet during the same days Communist leaders in Spain and France were secretly ordered to carry the People's Front towards a Communist revolution. Stalin enclosed the preamble of the UN charter with its commitment to practice tolerance and live in peace with one another. Russia's armed forces continued to grow and the Communist Parties were instructed to launch military insurrections against the governments of Asia.

This duplicity united the non-Communist world against Russia. And at times there were indications that a genuine shift by Soviet leaders towards safeguarding Russia's legitimate national interests and ceasing to undermine the legitimate nationalists of other states might offer more security for the Soviet State than inciting revolutions against nations armed with atomic bombs.

Who could understand this better than Beria, manager of Soviet atomic enterprises and guardian of all Soviet information concerning atomic warfare?

At least this possibility can be discerned between the lines of *Pravda*. Its most revealing passage declares of Beria:

> He hatched plans to grab the leadership of the party and the country with the aim of actually destroying the Communist Party and of changing the policy elaborated by the party by a capitulatory policy which would have brought about ultimately the restoration of capitalism.

If this charge is correct, then the downfall of Beria, executioner of thousands though he may be, is not a cause for rejoicing as the New York *Times* and other newspapers suggest, but instead a lost opportunity similar to the failure of the plot of the generals against Hitler. The unpleasant conclusion is that the most hopeful force in Russia has been crushed and the most aggressive force, led by Malenkov, strengthened. For this group the peace offensive is more offensive than peaceful; the relaxation of controls and the spirit of compromise are strategic retreats while the dictatorship is rebuilt and prepares for war. This view is confirmed by the concluding sections of the *Pravda* editorial which calls for a rebirth of the "proletarian internationalism of the Soviet people" and demands "a resolute and irreconciliable struggle against bourgeois nationalism."

This proclamation alone serves notice there has been no change in the Soviet perspective of ceaseless struggle with the West, and that the present plans to slacken our military efforts are mistaken and perilous.

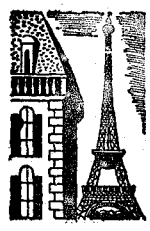
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris Dispatch: US POLICY IN GERMANY

Most statesmen in all the Western European capital cities agree with top Washington officials in believing that the East German uprising and the Czechoslovak disturbances were spontaneous, serious, impressive and important. Militant workers in the two most Westernized of the Soviet satellite countries certainly did make fissures in the false façade of seeming apathy or acquiescence to oppression. And their courageous deeds of exasperated protest must be taken into consideration in an appraisal of the value of the Soviet rulers' deeds of appeasing conciliation, both domestic and foreign. Above all, the meaning of the events in East Germany and Czechoslovakia must count in the formulation of the West's future policy toward Moscow.

There are however disagreements between Western Europe and the US both about this meaning and its implications. As yet the British and the French—experts, politicians and the public alike—fail to see the flames or even to sniff the smoke of what General Eisenhower has called the "wildfire" of "revolt" spreading generally in the Soviet satellites. Nor do they see any sound basis for Senator Wiley's opinion that "the enemy of freedom is trembling." Above all, they think Secretary Dulles went much too far in his plain implication that the "shaking" of the Soviet structure had been "activated" by US psychological warfare.

Such attitudes of the US, it is conceded, may be useful and even necessary in order successfully to wage political warfare on Capitol Hill—to get the MSA and other foreign legislation adopted. On the other hand, they are dangerous if without qualification they are used to create a climate of United States public opinion and a policy for the West deriving therefrom.



Konrad Adenauer is of course the outstanding exception among Western European statesmen. He wants above all at this stage to assure his re-election to office in September. He enthusiastically accepts the Wiley thesis because he wants to delay any Four-Power conference with the Russians until after his party has won the West German election.

The Chancellor is afraid that a conference now might help Erich Ollenhauer's Social Democrats in September. One of the reasons is that the militants who dared stand up to Soviet tanks in East Berlin were plainly workingmen. A reunified Germany dominated by workers, West and East, would have no place of command for the last pillar of "Christian Europe," and it might not hold to Adenauer's demand for all-German integration with Western Europe. Hence Adenauer insists that the Western powers should enter a conference with the Russians only after having publicly stated prior conditions, especially the right of reunited Germany to integrate politically and militarily with the EDC.

This would mean delay. The British and French are less eager for delay. But Adenauer is getting all-out support from Washington—even more support than Alcide de Gasperi got in the Italian election campaign of April, 1948. As a matter of fact, Dulles goes beyond his West German protégé. Whereas the Chancellor is forced to give at least lip-service to the desire for an eventual Big-Four conference (for domestic political reasons), the US Secretary of State seems to oppose any conference at all. Or rather he wants demands for all-German free elections, linked with insistence on the right to both unity and Western integration, to be submitted in writing through diplomatic channels to Moscow, as prior conditions to a conference. Since this would in effect be unconditional surrender in advance, the Russians will undoubtedly refuse, and there will be no conference.

Another version of what Europeans see as US "diplomacy" through the creation of "impossible" conditions was the statement of Ambassador Conant in Bonn, that the entire apparatus and machinery of dictatorship must disappear in East Germany before *any start* is made toward reunification.

Such an attitude (if the observers are right about it) suggests disagreeably that the Americans may be the victims of the central technique of their own psychological warfare. The English, in particular, have long felt that the Americans, in trying to create Soviet fears, have stimulated their own.

So far as the hopes behind the Iron Curtain, particularly in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, are concerned, they are certainly increasing. But when Eisenhower says that there is no question of physical action that can be classed as intervention, memories revive of the tragically premature Bor Komorowski revolt in Warsaw. And the doubt presents itself that, for the US, the means and the ends of psychological warfare may be mixed dangerously—for the satellite peoples. Is liberation an end, or is it a means? And how expendable are the satellite peoples?

So far as Germany is concerned, Paul Henri Spaak, the Belgian statesman and a leading supporter of European Union, has expressed the opinion that the Russians will come out with a clear, concrete and seemingly practical plan for unification on the eve of the September election. Many equally pro-US Europeans predict gloomily that the US, banking almost entirely on psychological warfare and backing Adenauer almost as completely and as uncritically as Syngman Rhee was backed, will not have an effective answer in time. Will Konrad Adenauer, then, fare better than Premier de Gasperi?

So far as Western Europe as a whole is concerned, US spokesmen over here refuse to consider the possibility that EDC will not be ratified. Here again, Western Europeans see a confusion of means and ends.

The fact is that the chances for EDC ratification are approaching the vanishing point. And the help given to Adenauer's attitude toward the EDC is not making the pendulum of history swing back toward general Western European support for US policy. After all, the EDC and what it stands for were based on the US contention that the West could negotiate with Russia only from strength. If the US now refuses to negotiate precisely because Russia is too weak, many Western Europeans will wonder whether we are really honest about wanting a peaceful solution.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial Beria Loses: Can Freedom Gain?

THE BELOVED protégé of Stalin, the trusted associate of Malenkov and Molotov, the second most powerful leader in the Soviet Union, proves now, in *Pravda's* words, to have been "a traitor . . . a bourgeois renegade . . . a criminal enemy . . . an agent of international imperialism, an adventurist and hireling of foreign imperialist forces." For the millions of bewildered workers and peasants, herded into meetings and encouraged to shout demands for Beria's death, one question arises and cannot be answered: If Beria was all these things, why were the great Stalin and his successors so stupid and ill-informed as to entrust him with the task of guarding the nation against internal threats?

The people today must lack confidence in the Soviet state. The Soviet police state in turn is without a trustworthy secret police. The Soviet atomic-energy program, over which the fallen police chief presided, is without trustworthy direction. The men on whom the Soviet state is built, from eavesdroppers and informers to be-ribboned marshals and managers of industrial combines, are without a stable government to which they can give loyalty and, in turn, gain protection. The "collective leadership" which joined to resist the challenge of Beria is unlikely to hold together and must sooner or later meet the challenge of other leaders who attempt to provide direction and stability by absolute, personal power.

As the plotters are executed and new plots are uncovered, the Soviet state must be weakened. Ultimate disintegration bears its own dangers if foundering leaders see overseas expansion and war as alternatives to internal collapse. And yet by Russian tradition and Marxist teaching, the Soviet leaders are conditioned to avoid adventurism. For these reasons a more active Western policy is possible and urgently demanded.

The trade boycott is already applied against the Soviet Union. There are few further pressures that we can apply, short of war. And direct pressures against Russia may provoke a nationalist reaction sufficient to consolidate an otherwise unsupported regime. The area for pressure obviously is at the periphery. The inability of the Czarist regime to assimilate and govern its border nationalities was a substantial reason for its deterioration and downfall. The Soviet regime was similarly overextended even before Stalin's death. It is very much overextended today, and for that reason a sound objective for the West is to press for the withdrawal of Soviet power from the European satellites and above all from the East Zone of Germany where mounting hostility to the failure of the Communists to provide life's basic necessities forms the counterpart to Soviet weakness.

The Soviet regime has a tremendous stake in Eastern Europe. Its reliance on the uranium of the Erzgebirge alone may prohibit its retreat from the East Zone unless it is assured either of uranium supplies or of a new system for the control of atomic weapons. As the local Communists lose support and local police forces prove unreliable, the Russians find it harder to withdraw and to leave the preservation of friendly power in local hands. Yet Soviet concessions led to the East German uprising, and these led in turn to new concessions. The German workers know that they are powerless against Soviet troops and tanks. But they have found that the East German Communist rulers are vulnerable, and it is against these men that their actions are primarily directed to maintain the pressures they have successfully applied. If incentives to the Russians can be combined with pressures from the Germans, the conditions might be created for the whole East Zone that applied to Berlin when the Russians concluded that, while their position was tenable, more was being lost than gained through the continuation of the blockade.

The basic problem is whether these objectives should be gained by agreement with the Russians and therefore in exchange for concessions elsewhere. Churchill has stated his support, Eisenhower his opposition, for negotiations now. Eisenhower fears, quite rightly, that negotiations may prevent the consolidation of Europe and permit the consolidation of the group that speaks for Russia. And yet we have no choice. The Russians will continue to exploit the propaganda value of German unification until we transform the issue from propaganda to policy. And the East Germans cannot be asked to suffer bloodshed and death for an objective which we are unwilling to seek by negotiation with the Russians.

In the presence of tremendous changes and opportunities there is no justification for maintaining silence until elections in Germany are over or the French Parliament makes up its mind. The need now is to extend the concept of European federation to all Europe; to emphasize the independence of Europe; to state the availability of American resources for East Europe and the willingness of America to reconsider the deployment of our troops overseas once the Red Armies withdraw to their borders; and finally, to offer assurances to Russia against an effort by a unified Germany to regain her prewar frontiers by force. It could mean a new time.

EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of His Arms Is Now Missing

IN JUSTICE to J. B. Matthews, who on July 9 was relieved of his post as staff director for the McCarthy Investigations Subcommittee, it should be remembered that he was admirably qualified for his job.

Professor Robert Carr notes in his book *The House Committee on Un-American Activities* that most of the Congressional investigators of Communism combined fanaticism and theatricality. To these qualities Matthews added his own indispensable ability: to see Communists where there were none.

It was indispensable because the Communist Party is a very small party. For that reason men who earn their livelihood uncovering Communists may find themselves without employment if their searches are restricted to party members alone. The Un-American Activities Committee was approaching this position when Matthews convinced it, in 1938, that the enemy was not 50,000 party members but fellow travelers who might number 500,000 or a million or two million or all the millions who voted for the New Deal.

On that day Matthews first expressed the *Law of Increasing Irresponsibility among Investigators.* Obedient to this law the Committee demanded appropriations to build its files to half a million, then a million, names. Still loyal to the law, Matthews declared in the July *Mercury* that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

The Matthews article was not a sudden outburst. As in education, this attack has been long developing, and well organized by fringe groups. They include James Fifield's Spiritual Mobilization, heavily financed by great corporations; the enemies of Bishop Oxnam, and several Fundamentalist churches grouped together under Carl McIntire, a defrocked Presbyterian minister and first president of the American Council of Christian Churches. This group, based on denominations with 200,000 members, has set out to destroy the good name of the National Council of Churches of Christ with its membership of more than 30 million. Responsible members of the National Council, like the *New Republic*, have recognized that among our 250,000 Protestant clergymen there are a score or so secret Communist Party agents whose right to speak for the church the church should deny. But McIntire and Matthews make an approach based on intelligence and restraint almost impossible. They assume rightly that the Communist Party set out to exploit the clergy and insist falsely that it succeeded. They bestow a cloak of respectability on a few Communists in cloth by identifying them with Episcopal bishops and preachers whose crime was to join the American Civil Liberties Union, or to protest the McCarran Immigration Act, or to sign a petition for world disarmament. So the Law of Increasing Irresponsibility comes into its own.

The law works also for McCarthy, particularly with a Republican in the White House. Yet McCarthy, a Catholic with Presidential ambitions, has carefully avoided slurs against the Protestant clergy. In the past two weeks he made some of the worst blunders of his political career.

First McCarthy defended the Matthews article with its indefensible charge against the whole clergy. Suddenly he found himself isolated in his Committee. Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas joined his fellow Democrats Stuart Symington and Jackson in condemning Matthews and in turn was joined by Potter; even McCarthy's old stand-bys Karl Mundt and Everett Dirksen could not bring themselves to speak in his defense.

To make matters worse McCarthy adopted an untenable position in holding that he alone had the right to hire and fire Matthews. Not only was the full Committee on Government Operations bound to repudiate him, he had repudiated himself by sending to every member of his Subcommittee a memorandum on the Matthews appointment which ended: *"The above action is of course taken subject to the approval of members of the Committee."*

McCarthy knew this. His plan, he confided to fellow Senators, was to create a diversion and then dismiss Matthews after a delay that would prevent the credit going to his enemies. He created the diversion by a wild attack against Allen Dulles and his deputy William Bundy. This attack brought McCarthy into direct battle with Eisenhower. And Eisenhower in turn moved at last against McCarthy.

"Generalized and irresponsible attacks that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America," the President declared. "Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency." Between this attack on Matthews, and McCarthy's defense of him, as between the Senator's demand to work over the CIA and the Administration's denial of his right to do so, there is no longer middle ground. As if to confirm this, the Administration now repudiates its own book burning as "a wicked symbolic act."

Velde may move to help McCarthy by exposing the few Communists who pose as ministers. But with the Democrats off McCarthy's committee, the responsibility from now on belongs to the Republicans alone. If Eisenhower stands fast, they may reject the responsibility and even boycott McCarthy's committee themselves in an unobtrusive way.

McCarthy walked into a bear trap; the President closed it on him. Potter, Mundt and Dirksen opened it an inch or two. But when McCarthy gets out he will find that one of his arms is missing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The East German Revolt

The cornerstone has been wrenched from the massive structure of the Soviet power

by Thomas Goldstein

THE DAILY PAPERS have a way of pouring the news out over us, day in, day out, so steadily that we may fail to grasp the decisive event when history turns a corner. On that evening of June 16, when we first learned of the East German workers' revolt, we were for a moment startled. The Soviet troops and tanks advanced to restore Communist power and the story faded from the front pages. We turned to other events with a sigh of regret that this courageous uprising had to fail.

But as surely as one can identify a turning point while it occurs, we may predict that the events which started with a demonstration of building workers from the Stalin Allee housing project in East Berlin will one day find their place in the history books. It is true that the uprising was short-lived and has been put down by force of arms, by Soviet tanks and Communist firing squads. It is true that this end was probably inevitable—as surely as stone-throwing, outraged youngsters are bound to be crushed by armored cars. It is also true that for those who organized and carried through this unique political venture, the defeat spells tragedy—mass arrests, broken up resistance units, and the heartbreak of having failed. At this moment, there will be much bitterness and grimness in the one- or two-room flats of workers' families throughout the Soviet Zone of Germany—but, I believe, not too much real discouragement or despair.

For there is every indication that the men who organized the uprising knew full well what they were doing. They must have known that the chances of full-fledged, immediate victory were slim. And, I think, they must know that, even if they have to pay a dreadful price, they have achieved something of tremendous importance: they have succeeded in removing a cornerstone in the massive structure of Communist power. Although it would be foolish to predict in what way, or when the whole house will come down, it now seems certain that some day the whole structure will collapse, in a way which will have been set off, however indirectly and remotely, by the East German revolt.

When the uprisings first began, Communist propaganda was quick to claim that they were "spontaneous." Later, as the organized character of the action became too obvious, this claim was replaced with the crude myth that "foreign agents"—particularly members of the "American espionage network"—had instigated the revolt. The labels "Hitlerite murderer" and "American spy" were hung around the necks of unemployed carpenters and penniless youths, seized from the crowds and sentenced to death without trial. But since the Communists announced the arrest of 50,000 Germans, a number incomparably larger than the greatest possible influx of foreign agents—this was in reality an admission that the unrest was carefully organized from within the Eastern Zone. Since then the facts which have leaked out point clearly to a high degree of political organization; a resistance rooted within the core of the East German working class; and a leadership which, while it has remained unknown to the outside world, obviously possesses a profound working knowledge of Communist methods and vulnerabilities—and knows what it wants. Whoever these leaders were, they had an admirable grasp of the inner dynamics of the Communist state and knew how to release these dynamics in a way that may set off a chain reaction.

It was around noon on June 16 that the building workers began their march from the Stalin Allee housing project, a much advertised undertaking of the East German state, toward the seat of the East Zone government. The demonstration seems originally to have been organized by certain forces within the Communist regime itself. The regime was about to make one of those "rightist" swings of the pendulum, startling but not unprecedented in the history of Communism. "Admissions" had been pouring forth to the effect that the regime had made serious mistakes; that the interests of the people had been neglected, that the party and the regime had "lost touch" with the people. (What German Communist after the explosion of hatred and the ensuing terror could utter that sickly lament without it sticking in his throat?)

The demonstration on Stalin Allee may have been thought up as a clever trick to channel the workers' outraged emotions toward the achievement of one specific demand, the abolition of the new arbitrarily increased work norms. By staging a sponsored demonstration for a specific goal, which the government had already decided to yield, the Communists were apparently trying to head

---

Thomas Goldstein is chief commentator for the German service of the Voice of America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

off genuine outbreaks of discontent. A few hours after the start of the demonstration, government cars with loudspeakers were roaming the streets of East Berlin announcing that the demands had been acceded to and the new work norms would be removed. This pleasant gesture was apparently part of the original scenario. But the announcement was received with derisive boos and the counter-demand for the immediate resignation of the government. The actors had their own script ready. The demonstration was no longer sham.

But from what followed it is clear that events did not just drift out of control; some other force took over their direction. For the first time, Communists holding power were confronted with a genuine anti-Communist uprising, operating with techniques the Communists themselves had perfected in opposition days, broadly supported by the masses. How appalled the Communists safely entrenched in the powers of the police state must have been to see the intimate connection of economic and political demands; the lightning transition from one to the other—from the call for the abolition of the work norms to the demand for free elections—the immediately ensuing wave of strikes involving almost every major plant in the Zone; the simultaneous action in many industrial centers; the pattern of mass outbreaks against government strongholds, repeated in one city after another—all these are the methods, taught endlessly and painstakingly by Communist masters for use in the so-called capitalist world and now executed against them with a skill that would have made a national hero of any high-level Communist organizer. Far from being "spontaneous," the uprisings indicated not only a high degree of planning, but also training and experience in this type of work.

IT IS TEMPTING to speculate that plans and techniques of the uprising were devised by graduates of a thorough schooling in Communist methods. There are two reasons why this might not be surprising. First, many of the industrial centers of the new Soviet Zone, including Berlin, were old Communist strongholds ever since the earliest days of the Weimar Republic. And second, the profound disappointment in the reality of Soviet Communism would logically be felt most acutely by the working class—which has borne the brunt of eight years of Soviet exploitation of the East German economy. From this class the uprising was prepared, but whether by disenchanted Communists, or by Social Democrats with ties to the West, or by old-time trade-union officials with long-standing resistance records against the Nazi regime is a question for the Soviet security service and the *Volkspolizei* to try to determine. These two forces, in fact, lost no time in encircling with a police cordon the workers' suburbs in the industrial cities and then combing the workers' homes, house by house, apartment by apartment, in a huge manhunt.

For the Russians and for us the decisive point is not so much the nature of the leadership but the fact that, for the first time, Communism is being opposed by the working class itself, fighting with the weapons of modern labor, and above all the organized strike which the Communists, under different conditions, have done much to refine.

There is more than an ironic coincidence to the pattern of these outbreaks—which is the classical Communist pattern. What happens to the myth and the reality now when the government troops were not those of some "capitalist oppressor state," but those of the Red Army; when the symbol of oppression, torn down, trampled upon and set on fire by the outraged masses, was the red flag of the one-time proletarian revolution; when the demonstrating workers were not shouting demands in favor of the proletarian dictatorship, but for free elections, the battle cry of Western democracy? An old cleavage, a profound inner contradiction has erupted, and the men who hold power in Russia must know from their own experience in Czarist days that it cannot be healed again. The working class behind the Iron Curtain has learned from bitter experience that Communism has betrayed their interests. It is turning the full power of its disillusionment against the Communist state.

The Communist leaders should be the last ones to underestimate this force. They rose to power chiefly on working-class support. They have done their best to strengthen labor's self-confidence in its own power. They are still powerful outside the Iron Curtain posing as a revolutionary workers' movement, and are far too deeply committed to that pose to be able to discard it. To the world and to the Russian people they still project the old myth that the dictatorship Stalin built is a workers' state and that, whatever it does, even in suppressing strikes, it does in labor's own best interests. For men who recognize no theology but Marxism the identity of the workers and the state is not a mere façade but a bond that outlasts death. If labor, its overwhelming majority and its "revolutionary vanguard," makes plain that it has been betrayed, the "proletarian dictatorship" cannot simply look around for another ally—nor can it win back its followers by granting minor concessions, executing a few cringing scapegoats, and damning the dead martyrs of June as capitalist spies. A police state has its ways of dispersing crowds. But as the Soviet leaders, and above all the veterans of 1917 must know, once the workers revolt against the "proletarian dictatorship," tanks and firing squads are no final answer. As past masters in the art of organized labor resistance, they know that, regardless of violent suppression or hasty assurances of better times to come, it will smolder on until its basic demands have been met.

History has turned a corner because the East Zone uprising has made it clear, beyond a shadow of a doubt, just what the demands of the German workers are—the replacement of the Soviet dictatorship by the freely elected representatives of the people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They Would Not Talk

Persecution helped to spread the "absurd and extravagant superstition"; a general pardon seemed wiser as a check

Pliny the Younger was a soldier turned politician. The Emperor Trajan appointed him Governor of Bithynia. There he set out to suppress Christianity. The following letter to Trajan, describing Pliny's troubles in making witnesses talk, was written 40 years after the death of St. Paul in the first century A.D. This letter is one of the earliest authentic references to "the sect of Christians."

IT IS MY invariable rule, Sir, to refer to you in all matters where I feel doubtful; for who is more capable of removing my scruples, or informing my ignorance? Having never been present at any trials concerning those who profess Christianity, I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether, therefore, any difference is usually made with respect to ages, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon, or, if a man has been once a Christian, it avails nothing to desist from his error; whether the very profession of Christianity, unattended with any criminal act, or only the crimes themselves inherent in the profession are punishable; on all these points I am in great doubt. In the meanwhile, the method I have observed toward those who have been brought before me as Christians is this: I asked them whether they were Christians; if they admitted it, I repeated the question twice, and threatened them with punishment; if they persisted, I ordered them to be at once punished; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved correction.

There were others also brought before me possessed with the same infatuation, but being Roman citizens, I directed them to be sent to Rome. But the crime is spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred. An anonymous information was laid before me containing a charge against several persons, who upon examination denied they were Christians, or had even been so. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and incense before your statue (which for that purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods), and even reviled the name of Christ; whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into any of these compliances; I thought it proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some among those who were accused by a witness in person at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it; the rest owned indeed that they had been of that number formerly, but had now (some above three, others more and few above 20 years ago) renounced that error. They all worshipped your statue and the images of the gods, uttering imprecations at the same time against the name of Christ. They affirmed the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they met on a stated day before it was light, and addressed a form of prayer to Christ, as to a divinity, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I forbade the meeting of any assemblies.

After receiving this account, I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavor to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were said to officiate in their religious rites: but all I could discover was evidence of an absurd and extravagant superstition. I deemed it expedient, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings, in order to consult you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, which have already extended, and are still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages, and even of both sexes. In fact, this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the neighboring villages and country. Nevertheless, it still seems possible to restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred rites, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for the victims, which till lately found very few purchasers. From all this it is easy to conjecture what numbers might be reclaimed if a general pardon were granted to those who shall repent of their error.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Batto-Tai Is Sung Again

For overcrowded, nationalistic Japan, the Korean Peace means either trade relief or an explosion must come

by Hessell Tiltman

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR once remarked to a visitor in Tokyo that a thousand years from now, when most events of this century will be worth only a line in history, what is happening in Japan will be worth a page.

He may be right—for other reasons. He referred, of course, to the spiritual revolution undertaken under his sponsorship. But the reason that events in Japan may live on in history is the reverse—once again Japan is demonstrating its unique capacity to renew itself without changing in essence.

If there was a revolution it came a hundred years ago this week, when Commodore Perry and his "Black Ships" sailed into Tokyo Bay. Before him lay a feudal and almost entirely agricultural nation. It had lived in isolation for two centuries. For more than a century its population had been held constant by the practice of infanticide to the level of 30 million, which its rulers judged conformed to the country's fixed and known economic resources.

With the coming of the "Black Ships," and the realization of the nation's defenseless state if assailed by the modern weapons possessed by the Western "barbarians"—Japan embarked upon the remarkable era of industrialization and modernization associated with the reign of Meiji Tenno, which, during the next half-century, transformed the hermit kingdom into the center of a great empire and one of the leading industrial powers of the world. As Japan's power and population multiplied, so did its problems. Food and raw materials had to be imported to supply the new urban population and new machines, and to be paid for by exports. Expanding national armaments, designed to preserve the independence of the nation in an era of Asian colonization, had to be financed. The country's attitude toward the United States and the West had to be shaped, and its "national heritage" safeguarded against the impact of imported ideas.

A century later, precisely the same problems are uppermost in Japanese minds. They are population, markets, defense, foreign relations and the preservation of the material way of life and thought. They have all been magnified by defeat and the ideas that came to the country during the "Scap Era," but they have changed little in essence since the Emperor Meiji died.

The population has almost trebled—from 30 million in 1853 to more than 86 million today. And that population includes 39 million under 20 years of age and is increasing at the rate of more than one million each year. By 1960, 93 million Japanese will be cooped up in four islands the size of Montana, only 17 percent of which is arable land. By 1970, if present trends hold, there will be 99 million in the Japanese islands; by 1980, 105 million.

Urban communities have already reached the saturation point, yet the tide of migration from over-populated farming areas to the industrial cities is equivalent to one new city of nearly a million inhabitants every year.

Jobs must be found not only for youths reaching working age but for many girls as well. In today's Japan, the working population includes 16 million women. In a recent year, 54 percent of all women university and technical college graduates went into employment.

This influx into industry and commerce can be supported only in one of two ways—by increasing national productivity and exports, or by lowering the nation's living standards that today average $150 a year. That standard—intolerably low for the West but the highest in Asia—requires imports of 3.5 million tons of staple foods a year at a cost amounting to 25 percent of all imports. Japan also has to import 40 percent of the annual consumption of timber and fiber; 90 percent of its petroleum; 50 percent of its phosphate fertilizer; 60 percent of its iron ore; 100 percent of its bauxite and 80 percent of its lead, together with a large percentage of its salt, tin, magnesium and other necessary minerals.

With textile exports—the largest single source of its overseas trade—running at less than one billion yards annually (Japan's capacity is double that amount), and exports to neighboring countries (mainly China) down from 44 percent of total exports in 1934-35 to nine percent in 1951, the nation's trading accounts today are $800 million annually in the red. The deficit has been covered recently by US "special procurement" orders in Japan in connection with the Korean War and the spending of US Army personnel. Recently the Government's Economic Counsel Board warned that, due to decreased US defense spending in Japan, the nation's "invisible exports" are likely to be reduced by 50 percent

---

Hessell Tiltman is a correspondent for the Daily Herald *in Tokyo.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

within five years, leading to lowered living standards and increased unemployment.

Somewhere along the line, either trade relief or an "explosion" must come. As the Japanese see it, with more than 4,300 persons to every square mile of cultivated land, and 20 percent of its food imported, the nation has but three chances—larger markets in the free world; a renewal of large-scale trade with China; or continued assistance from the United States.

Meanwhile, over-population and lack of natural resources condemns the average Japanese to live on a margin of safety so thin that the equivalent of $25 or less represents for millions the difference between a balanced family budget and disaster.

These conditions of economic instability and enforced austerity represent the basic fact that largely conditions Japanese policies—including much of the present opposition to rearmament. They do not, however, prevent Japan from being as stubbornly and proudly pro-itself as in prewar days. The former martial spirit has suffered a decline. There exists a greater awareness of, and interest in, democratic liberties. The Diet is taking itself and its expanded prerogatives more seriously than before. But these trends, while encouraging, do not represent any change in the nation's thought processes, or in the general pattern of Japan as an instinctively authoritarian state.

A two-million man Japanese army will not happen—yet. But Japan's new-found pacifism is based upon emotionalism and totally ignores alike the responsibilities of collective or national security, or the views of anyone else except the Yamato race. By precisely the same line of mental reasoning, the nation could reach, overnight, a decision to rebuild its forces up to prewar strength, and convince itself that any nation registering objections was "insincere."

So Japan is edging back toward its own past. Symptomatic of this "reverse course" is the exaggerted racial consciousness, which caused an Education Minister in Prime Minister Yoshida's Fourth Cabinet to inform the Diet not long ago that, "the fact that Japan fought the whole world for four years is ample evidence of our racial excellence."

The Japanese radio networks have revived the old army songs such as *Batto-Tai* (the Banzai Chargers) that used to be played when Emperor Hirohito reviewed his troops in prewar days, and the Japanese people have revived the native sports of "Judo" (Jujitsu), "Kendo" (Japanese-style fencing) and "Kemba" (sword dance), and also the miniature suits of armor and spears and swords associated with the martial origins of the annual Boys Festival which were banned during the Occupation. The festival of *Kigensetsu*, honoring Jimmu, mythical first Emperor of Japan, was celebrated this year for the first time since the surrender. The Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, dedicated to those who died in the nation's wars, is again well patronized. A "back to the kimono" movement has boosted sales of Japanese dress for women 40 percent over a year ago. And regimentation has returned to the classrooms.

Such developments represent an echo straight from Japan's recent past—an echo that caused the liberal Professor Shigeru Nambara, head of the Japan Political Science Association, to declare last year that "there are signs that democratic reforms nurtured for seven years since the end of the war have come to a standstill and that the old way, the Fascist way of thinking, is reappearing in spheres of education, culture, economy and so on." The nonagenarian Yukio Ozaki, outspoken Grand Old Man of Japanese liberalism, who sat in the House of Representatives continuously for 62 years before being defeated in last April's general election, remarked when I visited him recently: "Japan hasn't changed. The Diet is repeating the same mistakes as before the war, but in a different way. There has been no improvement."

This overriding concern with the national heritage that finds expression in the "return to the past" colors Japan's attitude toward the United States and the outside world. The Japanese capacity for hospitality (and for concealing their real feelings behind a mask of politeness is proverbial and disarming. But neither the bowing in 15 positions, nor the adulation that, not so long ago, sought to make General MacArthur a god nor the fine phrases and fireworks with which this month's Perry Centennial Celebrations will be attended, represent a safe yardstick by which to measure Japan's basic feelings toward the West. Those feelings are based upon neither envy, active dislike nor fear, but for the most part upon an innate sense of superiority. Japan is a land of the gods and everyone knows that the United States isn't!

After living alongside American "occupationaries," and observing closely their social habits, the Japanese have decided that in the matter of their national way of life, they have nothing to apologize for—and could probably teach the West a few things concerned with love of beauty, devotion to family and simplicity of living. Many, especially of the older generation, have decided they could do without boogie-woogie, necking in public, strip tease and similar manifestations of Western influence recently introduced into their highly formalized society, in which any display of emotion in public—even between husband and wife—was in the pre-MacArthur era taboo. Japan knows it needs the West, but an intense national sensitivity and the traditions of the past alike cause the nation to desire to keep the influence of the West upon Japan's social life to a minimum.

In a word, Japan wants to have its cake and eat it, to enjoy United States dollars and markets and good will while indulging in the mental luxury of "anti-Washingtonism." This propensity tends to make the kindly, attractive Japanese something of a problem race. But it does not alter the fact that their country is by far the most advanced and energetic of all Asian peoples—a race capable of great good or considerable mischief and one which occupies too vital a role in the world strategic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

setup to be allowed to loiter on the sidelines of history.

That importance is inevitably destined to increase—alike in the eyes of Washington, Moscow and Peking—in direct ratio to Communist China's development. To Washington and the West, it is necessary to prevent the merging of Communist-controlled raw materials and Japan's industrial potential. To Moscow, Japan and its resources represent the hope of bringing all Asia into the Red orbit. And for Peking, an alliance with Japan represents one (and perhaps the only) possibility of breaking free from the dangers of Russian domination. Thus for West and East alike, any planning for the Orient that excludes Japan from its calculations would be entirely unrealistic.

Nor should the problems—political, economic and psychological—arising from this situation cause us to sell Japan short. It is no longer fashionable to speak of "Orientals" or "Asiatics." But the Japanese people are still Orientals, and by far the most efficient race in that area. They are too pro-Japanese to be pro-Communist. And they are best in adversity.

In Perry's time, when many doubted whether a defenseless Japan, suddenly exposed to the cold winds of world affairs, could retain its independence, they startled the world by the speed with which they acquired and developed the resources of modern defense. In 1937, when invading North China, they were insufferable; in 1946, when I watched surrendered Japanese ex-army men and civilians queueing up at Tongku and Shanghai for repatriation, they were superb in their bearing and discipline.

Today, their national problems are as terrifyingly real and pressing as ever faced a modern nation. The Japanese need not only to solve their trade and population complexities, but to recast and modernize their thought-processes in line with the changed conditions of the world.

While that transition is taking place, it requires the West to extend to the Japanese infinite patience and understanding. All that is best in the nation (and the "best" is more influenial than ever before) is on the side of the gods. And if they be Japanese gods, that is only natural.

The Floor beneath Wages Is Gone

The young Massachusetts Senator calls for a reawakening of public interest to stop further damage to the Walsh-Healey wage, hour and child labor law

by John F. Kennedy

THIRTY DOLLARS a week is not a living wage in any part of the United States. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average four-person family in Mobile, Alabama, needed more than twice that amount in order to maintain a modest standard of living—to pay $51 monthly rent, for example. But $30 a week, 75 cents an hour, is the minimum wage now set by the Fair Labor Standards Act; and thus that is the incredible sum which, for example, thousands of cotton-textile-mill workers in the Southeast region of the United States are paid. What sort of homes, food, clothing and medical care can these workers obtain for themselves and their families? Yet, a proposed increase to $1 an hour is protested.

A child of nine is far too young to be working in the cotton fields of this country. But the small investigative staff of the Department of Labor found several hundred such children employed illegally *during school hours* last year; yet some Congressmen are now seeking to exempt agriculture from the coverage of the Act.

For nearly two decades it has been established national policy that the Secretary of Labor should determine and enforce the current prevailing minimum wage rates in industries with which the federal government is contracting, in order to prevent sweatshop employers from underbidding employers who pay a decent wage. And yet under an amendment adopted at the close of the last session of Congress, we find a temporary injunction granted which suspends the recent determination made by the Secretary of Labor of the national minimum wage in the textile industry. This is but part of the larger struggle to break the Walsh-Healey Act and provide for the setting of minimum wage rates on a regional rather than on a national scale.

This varied evidence of the steady attrition in our fair labor standards should be a source of concern to those labor, consumer, business, civic, church and other groups who battled for such legislation for a century in legislatures, courts, party conventions and Congress.

Although men like Hugo Black saw the Fair Labor Standards Act as a means of ending depressed labor conditions in the South, some of their successors see it as a block to their ambitions to attract industry by paying wages lower than that of Northern competition. That this not only discriminates against those Northern and Southern employers who are paying reasonable wages,

John F. Kennedy, Democrat, is US Senator from Massachusetts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but also weakens the entire economy of the country by lessening purchasing power and making the payment of lower wages necessary for an increased number of employers, seems to escape them.

These attempts to reverse the trend of the last two decades must be fought with all the vigor at our command by both Northerners and Southerners who seek to maintain the social advances of the past 20 years; and to build sufficient consumer purchasing power to absorb the tremendous increase in our production stimulated by the defense spending which may slacken and place great burdens upon our civilian economy in future years. The need in fact is to strengthen our labor standards legislation.

The Wages and Hours Act—Our basic labor standards law is, of course, the Fair Labor Standards Act, currently requiring a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour and a regular work week of no longer than 40 hours, with time-and-a-half for overtime. Employment of children under 16 or in hazardous industries is prohibited. Exemptions are provided in great number.

A Ph. D. in economics is not required to realize that 75 cents an hour is a nearly meaningless and obsolete wage floor. In terms of maintaining a home and family, 40 cents an hour was admitted by its sponsors to be inadequate in the 1938 Act, as was 75 cents an hour in the 1949 amendments. One dollar an hour would be inadequate in 1953.

A dollar minimum wage would nevertheless prevent those employers now paying less than that figure from so exploiting the helplessness of their employees. Generally such workers are being victimized at less than $40 a week not because of low productivity, but because their age, color, lack of organization, or similar factor prevents them from bargaining for wages paid by decent employers. Further, a $1 minimum would be a stabilizing factor in these days when economists talk darkly of a "mild" recession. More money means more purchasing power and adequate living standards, which must be increased as our national output increases if our prosperity is to be maintained. Legitimate manufacturers now paying well above $1 favor such a minimum to prevent unfair undercutting by sweatshop-work employers.

We can expect the usual clichés in opposition; such legislation would "cause mass unemployment," "interfere with free enterprise and collective bargaining" and "discriminate against small business." Events since the 1938 Act and 1949 amendments amply disprove these claims. Recent Department of Labor statistics demonstrate that such an increase could be easily absorbed by all employers affected. Moreover, worker productivity has increased under the stimulation of decent wages and working conditions.

Of equal importance is the necessity of extending the Act's coverage. In 1937, because of Constitutional doubts Congress acted cautiously with respect to coverage. In 1949, instead of coverage being extended, such doubts having been resolved, opponents of the increase to 75 cents exempted from the protection of the Act an estimated one-half million workers—workers in the lumber, telephone, newspaper, laundry and other industries and retail establishments. Similar attempts are being made this year. The benefits of such legislation must be distributed as widely as the Constitution and practicality permit.

The Walsh-Healey Act—The object of the Act by determining the current prevailing minimum wage on a national basis, said the Supreme Court, was to "obviate the possibility that any part of our tremendous national expenditures would go to forces tending to depress wages and purchasing power and offending fair social standards of employment."

Although an administrative lag frequently diminished its importance in the wage picture, the Walsh-Healey Act worked well without far-reaching amendment until 1952. Near the close of the 82nd Congress, several extensive amendments to this permanent labor legislation were introduced by Sen. J. W. Fulbright under the guise of amendments to the temporary Defense Production Act, thus avoiding the more progressive Senate Labor Committee. One such amendment was enacted just before the conventions which provided, among other things, for judicial review of the Secretary's determination under the Act.

IT IS DIFFICULT politically to oppose judicial review, but not logically. The Fulbright Amendment introduces the confusing uncertainties of court decisions to a matter for administrative finding of fact. It thus serves only to cripple unnecessarily the effective operation of the Act. Its encumbering effect was recognized by the Report on the Textile Industry prepared for the New England Governors' Conference of which Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire (now Assistant to the President) was Chairman; and demonstrated by a suit filed by Southern mill owners against the Secretary's recent finding in the textile industry. Challenging the finding in a number of ways, these owners were successful last month in obtaining a temporary injunction suspending the textile increase for their employees. Thus, the whole intent of the Act was frustrated as these Southern mills continued to undercut the industry with low wages.

If we cannot repeal the Fulbright Amendment, surely it can be drastically modified. Also, provisions challenged in the current litigation should be clarified and a means provided for expediting changes in the various industry rates.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The New Orthodoxies

by Stephen Spender

SHORTLY BEFORE SHE DIED, Gertrude Stein is supposed to have asked: "What is the answer?" After this she lay silent for some minutes. Then suddenly, raising herself up in bed, she asked: "What is the question?" Then she died. If this story be true, Miss Stein, on her death-bed, epitomized in these two questions the literary and aesthetic movement which began in the 1850's when Baudelaire noted in his journal that modern civilization created nothing to justify the continuation of life. Baudelaire, in his attempt to achieve a Christian existence by entering the universe of the Divine Comedy through the gateway of his own damnation, sought an answer to Nineteenth Century materialism. But if we judge his life and work as answer, today we find Baudelaire's satanism absurd and the flowers of evil faded.

Even his insistence on being the poet pursued by furies, the albatross mocked by the hearties, is meretricious. Yet these histronics do not challenge his position of supremely great primal modern poet. Why? The reason lies not in the answer but in the question: "how can modern man, with his fallen nature, his classic past, and his role in eternity, live a significant spiritual life within the materialism of modern civilization?

The reason why we can respect the satanism, the albatross and the yearning for damnation, is because they all serve to re-state the problem—to pose the question. They remind us over and over again, like a hundred variations on one theme, that man has to interpret the life of his soul into the language of the modern city.

The greatness of the modern movement lies perhaps in the fact that after the answer there comes the question. Today there is a reaction from the great individualist visionaries and a trend toward the new orthodoxies partly because, considered as answers, their systems seem inadequate. Rilke's angels, for example, are unsatisfactory spiritual machines invented to cope with material machines. We can't quite believe that above the human landscape of modern life where the genitals of money breed more money and all values are sold at a fare, there stand these objectified projections of the Rilkean poetic task, converting the currency of external things into the symbols of the inner imagination. Shelley thought the poets were the unacknowledged legislators of mankind; Rilke thought that poetry was a kind of Bourse or Exchange in which material values were converted into spiritual ones.

He had fallen into a variety of the Shelleyan fallacy exploded by T. S. Eliot. Yet some form of this fallacy seems inevitable if the poet thinks of himself as isolated communicator of values in a time when they are decaying within the substance of civilization, one who has by himself to relate spiritual existence to modern circumstances, when the institutions and symbols of religion have proved inescapable of such convertibility. Although poetry cannot be a substitute for religion the poetic function tends to become a substitute for defective spiritual institutions.

Yet the task of creating substitute spiritual institutions out of the poems of individual poets, the novels of a few extraordinary novelists who exposed their sensibilities to the whole condition of man in their time, produces inevitably a crisis of communication. Religious symbols are familiar to us and in a community brought up on the Bible there is no tremendous difficulty in interpreting them, though meanings may well be clouded or dense or hard. But for a writer to assume the kind of task that Mallarmé or Joyce or Rilke assumed, of re-experiencing everything as though it had never been experienced before, and then expressing it not in terms with which traditions and education have made us familiar but in new ones minted out of his separate sensibility, puts a tremendous burden on both writer and reader. Values have to be created by the total submission of poetic sensibilities to contemporary reality or by the pursuit within subjective life of images and ideas which can be lived and defended against that reality. In the end, though, as the task of individual re-experiencing and re-creating grows, it becomes progressively more difficult for the reader to understand the significance of the writer's symbols and language, without his having experienced the whole process of the writer's experiencing and inventing of his terms.

With Joyce a time came when, to all intents and purposes, he invented a new language. And the difficulty is that in making new words from their derivations in a dozen different languages, and in using myths taken from the cultures of as many nations, he inevitably chose those sources according to the arbitrary principle of what struck his fancy when, in the course of his journeyings, he came up against it. He was a fanatical traditionalist working within no tradition and having to invent one of his own. The understanding of Joyce really implies a special understanding of all the mythology which accumulated in his mind above his private plan of an exile's map of Dublin and its environs. He is in himself a culture and a country with myths and dialects derived from his memories.

So the tremendous attempt of the visionary writers to create works which were substitute spiritual institutions, was justified not by these novels and poems providing answers to the gap in modern spiritual life but in their stating the questions which were not being answered, measuring as itwere, the dimensions of the gap, drawing attention to the absence of values. Poetry could not become a substitute for religion but it could draw or create a picture of the absence of religion and describe the modern human situations to which the religions no longer seemed to apply. It could create what Mallarmé called an "absence," and the symbols of the symbolists which seemed to symbolize nothing, could indicate holes in the structure of society where tremendous symbols

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which once existed within the ritual of living, had disappeared.

Nor did the modern movement attack the world in which we live only in the work of the isolated individualists, the great lonely geniuses who stand above the landscape, utterly devoted to receiving impressions and translating them into their own terms. It was in a real sense a movement. That is to say there was an idea, that the human imagination could, through art, digest and transform every manifestation of modern life, even (and perhaps especially) the ugliest, the aesthetically least appetizing. It was a *tour de force* of the spirit to humanize what was most mechanical, to desire what was most hateful; just as Parisians loved the Eiffel Tower because, being a purely scientific demonstration of the utmost that could be achieved in steel construction, their hearts transformed it into a specially cherished toy. Guillaume Apollinaire turned even the Western Front into his private Eiffel Tower.

Thus besides the achievements of the great giants of literature, there was room within modernism for an attack on our industrialized civilization by lesser writers who simply had the sense of belonging to such a general movement. Apollinaire is essentially a cavalier who does not pretend to be a general, a Twentieth Century Don Quixote armed with a machine gun who charges into the terrible No Man's Land of the Western Front as though the enemy defenses were windmills, and who with his gaiety, imagination and his love of women, suddenly makes us realize (as indeed Lawrence was to do sometimes) that if we had the courage of our mere humanity, chivalry can be thought of in terms of a modern gaiety of mind and body.

If the greatest modernists improvised substitute-spiritual-institutions in their immensely complex works, the lesser ones explored the possibilities of an empirical day-to-day humanism, measuring their spirits, minds and bodies, against all that is anti-spiritual, anti-intelligent and anti-sensual in the modern world, and conquering stupidity with a light-hearted avarice for life. In the world of individualist vision there are direct links between the most responsible activities and the least responsible, between the greatest seriousness and the utmost silliness, between, let's say, James Joyce's experiments and those of Gertrude Stein. For what modernism really does is assert the independence and strength of humanity; and at times it does this by gigantic efforts of absorbing a modern experience and improving an almost arbitrarily invented intellectual system to enclose and penetrate at every point this material, at other times by cocking a snook or making a rude noise.

There is no use lamenting over the end of this movement. The reasons for the decline, partly political and social, also, lie partly within literature itself. As we have seen, the deeper the writers of the individual vision penetrated into contemporary reality, the greater the difficulty of communication with the reader. Several works have been written during the first half of this century which should terminate not with FINIS or THE END but with the warning DEAD END.

The deeper reasons though for the collapse lie within society. For ultimately the single uniting clause of faith of the whole movement lay in the hope that the individual could create his own values and so find his personal solution for his confrontation with the modern world. Paris or London was looked on as a bundle of images striking into his mind through his sensibility. What he must do was develop this sensibility, order these impressions and create his own harmonious inner world. The greatest writer would be he who received and transformed the greatest number of impressions and ordered them within the special inner world of his special vision.

Such a concept of the task of literature is—with modifications and variations—common to all the visionary writers, the modern seers. It breaks down at three points. Firstly, as I have said, the symbols become too complex, the reader cannot follow them. Secondly, the ordering of the impressions requires a religion or philosophy. If the writer invents his own system—as most of these writers have done—or, if, like Baudelaire he interprets in his own way the religion he was born into—there inevitably comes a time when he has to meet the criticism of already existing systems. He may have rejected current beliefs for seemingly good reasons, but all the same, the beliefs he improvises for himself may be less satisfactory than the traditional ones even though he be justified in attacking contemporary institutions.

Thirdly, society today forces us to take sides in certain social conflicts. In the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and at the beginning of this, people of aesthetic sensibility could regard themselves as the only civilized beings in a world whose values were becoming totally materialist. To the extent that they cared for values of their art which they created they opposed the society in which they lived. Some of them became ecstatic saints of the cult of their art, caring so little for the contemporary world that they expected nothing whatever from it—neither remuneration nor recognition.

Today, to be against the society in which we live is to be for another kind of society. "He who is not with us is against us," is the motto of all societies in the 1950s. Rightly so, because weakness and opposition make them need complete support. It follows then that the opponent of his society is not just for himself and his own vision: he is forced into the position of being a subversive, a social or political opponent. Hence we intelligently read politics into all attitudes: which means that individualist vision has become a delusion.

Roughly speaking, today there are three orthodoxies which influence writing and to some extent all the arts. First, in the large part of the world dominated by Communism, the artist, in effect, is simply asked to be a propagandist. The second orthodoxy, though vague, is strong in the democracies—conformity with the pervading authority which demands the "responsibility" of the artist. The third orthodoxy is religious, and Christian, for the most part either Catholic or Anglican.

[*This is the first of a three-part essay by Mr. Spender.—The Editors*]

POST-STALINIST ERA

STALIN'S DEATH aroused both hopes and fears in the West and America, but the varied speculations which followed have left us as much in the dark about the future intentions of the Soviet Union as we have been about its past policies. Actually our experts know a great deal about this country, but of late their selection and evaluation of evidence appear often to be dominated by preconceived convictions. There is a time-lag in the expertise; we persist in thinking of the Soviet Union in terms of the 1930s or 1940s, decades that have already become obsolete in the Soviet Union of the 1950s.

RUSSIA: WHAT NEXT? by Isaac Deutscher (Oxford; $3).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Isaac Deutscher's *Russia: What Next?* offers that "new word" in a brilliant analysis of Stalinism and its legacy for the Malenkov regime, to which is added a prophecy of the future development of the Soviet Union as startling as it is original. Indeed, recent actions of the new Soviet government tend to confirm Mr. Deutscher's forecast of the future. The casualties of cold war thinking on the Soviet Union may well take exception to points in both the analysis and conclusions of Mr. Deutscher's book, but the scholarship in it is compelling and the motivation behind it that of the deeply sincere but thoroughly realistic seeker for peace.

In the first part of the book, entitled "The Balance of an Era," Mr. Deutscher takes the position that the Soviet Union, no less than the rest of the world, is not immune to change. He denies the Communist contention that the people of the Soviet Union have already found their new mouthpiece and leader, who will speak with Stalin's voice as Stalin had spoken with the voice of Lenin. And he also questions the anti-Communist conviction that only an outside force can change the regime. For, he argues, Stalinism itself has developed forces in the Soviet Union which must work towards the undoing of Stalinism. The general trend of contemporary Soviet life has been preparing the break with the Stalin era and at best Stalin's death and its consequences can only influence some individual features of the process. In fact, Mr. Deutscher points out, a crisis of Stalinism has been latent for some time and Stalin's death has served to bring that crisis into the open.

In an absorbing chapter on the transition from Leninism to Stalinism, in which the genesis of Stalin's policy is discussed, Mr. Deutscher concludes that the mutual interpenetration of modern technology and Marxist socialism with Russian barbarism formed the content of the Stalin era. In an effort to build socialism in one country, he was quite prepared to seek understanding with Western powers and, if necessary, betray foreign Communism in order to protect his policy of self-containment.

However, Mr. Deutscher argues that despite Stalin's merciless struggle to perpetuate Stalinism by purges and terror, he was at the same time waging the most bitter and effective campaign against the continuation of his system. That is, by its barbarous methods Stalinism succeeded in driving out of Russia most of the barbarism from which Stalinism had drawn its strength. The essence of Stalin's historic achievement, says Mr. Deutscher, "lies in the fact that he found Russia working with the wooden plow and left her equipped with atomic piles." Further, Mr. Deutscher maintains, this part of the Stalin legacy will go on, for there is no road back from the industrialization, collectivization, modernization, and planning. But for the Soviet people to make the best use of these enduring achievements, they will be obliged sooner or later to transcend Stalinism. In all this Mr. Deutscher perceives a profound contradiction maturing between "the social and economic structure and the political superstructure of the post-Stalinist society."

It is in his treatment of the legacy of Stalinism in foreign affairs that most critics will take exception to Mr. Deutscher's findings. Yet no section of the book is more closely reasoned or anticipates more acutely the spirit of opposition, and for every positive point made a wealth of scholarly evidence is adduced. Only the bare essentials of his analysis can be set down here. Mr. Deutscher argues that the whole purpose of Stalin's foreign policy at first was self-containment, to preserve "peaceful existence" with capitalism, for he believed that by building up the Soviet citadel of socialism he was making the only contribution towards world revolution that could be made at that time. Mr. Deutscher admits and lists many "diversions" in this policy, but he insists that they were mock battles designed to keep up the morale of the world Communist movement.

But the end of the War disrupted this effort and, according to Mr. Deutscher, "Stalin struggled desperately and unavailingly to save his policy of self-containment, or what remained of it, from the tempest of the time." Stalin underestimated the extent of the revolutionary ferment in Europe and Asia at the end of the War. Mr. Deutscher threads his way through the complicated ramifications of Soviet foreign policy over the last years of Stalin's life and comes to the conclusion:

> at least three factors combined to undo Stalin's policy of self-containment: genuine revolutionary ferment abroad; the revolutionary urge in Stalin's own armies; and the jockeying for position among allies rapidly turning into potential enemies.

The second part of the book, "Russia in Transition," begins with the assertion that "Stalinism has exhausted its historical function, a fact that explains a good deal of the dire malaise of the last months of Stalin's rule." The nation, says Mr. Deutscher, has become culturally superior to the moral climate and method of government of Stalinism, and sooner later, he continues,

> the Russian people will learn to form and express its own opinions; and once it begins to do so, it will progress at a breathtaking pace and astonish the world once again by the extraordinary fertility of its political mind.

In truth, the first moves of Malenkov have revealed an awareness that reforms must come and that they had better come from above in order to forestall them from below. Mr. Deutscher then goes on to analyze the various sudden and swift moves of the new Malenkov government by way of indicating how fully they break with the past of Stalinism. In domestic matters the broad lines of Stalin's economic and social policies will be continued, for the force of circumstances guarantees the continuity of the present economic system. On the other hand, the internal reforms of the the new government up to date indicate a clear intention, within the framework of the present one-party system, to move in the direction of mitigating the repressive aspects of the Stalinist police state.

In the sphere of foreign policy the actions of the new government, Mr. Deutscher contends, were taken against a background of extraordinary developments that took place between last January and March. Towards the end of Stalin's rule, Mr. Deutscher maintains, the leading party circle was split on foreign policy. One faction, led by Malenkov, was anxious for conciliation with the West; the other, probably dominated by important leaders in the Army and political police, held that war was inevitable and refused to countenance any "appeasement." It is in the light of this split that Mr. Deutscher explains the "doctors' plot." It was pretty obviously inspired by powerful figures in the Army and political police, and it was designed to make domestic reforms impossible and to strike a blow at appeasement of the West.

Mr. Deutscher, however, is not unrealistically optimistic about the chances of an accommodation between East and West. In his peace overtures Malenkov

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no doubt has his own powerful opposition to contend with. Should the West, at this critical juncture, abandon its policy of containment for one of liberating the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and China, then "self-containment" would become impossible for the Soviet bloc. In the face of a warlike threat from the West before the new regime has had time to consolidate itself, the Malenkov government, says Mr. Deutscher, may have to give way to its opponents and may well be succeeded by a military dictatorship, a version of Bonapartism.

In the conclusion of his book Mr. Deutscher makes out a surprising case, if the end of the cold war is resolved in favor of peace, for the gradual evolution of the Soviet regime towards a socialist democracy in the future. Though he admits that this goal looms only dimly on a distant horizon, a faint beginning may be observed in the suggestion that the Malenkov regime intends to abolish the Stalinist practice of government under which all authority and power of decision were vested in a single leader. Mr. Deutscher predicts a possible reversal of the process by which the Soviet democracy of the early days of the revolution was transformed into an autocracy. This reverse process, he writes,

> can begin only with the infusion of democracy in the Communist Party. Only from there can freedom of expression spread to other bodies, covering an ever wider range, until a fully fledged Soviet democracy comes into being, backed by a high industrial civilization and by an up-to-date socialist system. Historically, the Communist Party has lost its own freedom because it denied it to others. When at last it regains freedom it cannot but return it to others.

Mr. Deutscher's analysis and predictions will disturb many scholars and policy makers on the Soviet Union in the United States, but his thinking in these respects is part of a widespread intellectual movement in Western Europe and England. He brings to the subject deep knowledge and wide research, and a record of contributions in the field of notable studies and brilliant reporting on the London *Observer* and *Economist*. Against this background of achievement and activity the position he now takes merits the consideration of all who realize that the future well-being of the world depends upon a peaceful accommodation between the Soviet Union and the West.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

SOME SUMMER NOVELS

JOHN LEE WELDON'S *The Naked Heart* is an attempt to wrest a tragedy out of the morals and mores of poor whites in Alabama. A young sensitive boy, rebellious against the primitive religiosity which is his elders try to force on him as comfort and explanation, is dealt a series of gruesome blows by fate: a girl with whom he had had a love affair kills herself in an attempt at self-abortion with a knife; his mother, to whom he is Oedipus, dies lingeringly of cancer. At the end, fleeing a Baptist "water-conversion" which he cannot accept, he commits suicide—a symbolic self-crucifixion—uttering, as his last words, the two key themes: "Mother" and "God."

THE NAKED HEART, by John Lee Weldon (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3).
THE VIOLENT WEDDING, by Robert Lowry (Doubleday; $3).
THE LAND THAT TOUCHES MINE, by John Sanford (Doubleday; $3).
YOU SHALL KNOW THEM, by Vercors (Little, Brown; $3.50).

The Naked Heart has only two things wrong with it: it is dull and it is unconvincing. The dullness results from the almost interminable dialogues, including two "hell-and-damnation" sermons, done in a Southern drawl, with liberal sprinklings of "Dear God," "Sweet Jesus," etc. It is unconvincing because the characters are not full enough nor the structure strong enough to bear the weight put upon them, and the girl's abortion and the boy's suicide are finally crudely shocking rather than tragically just.

The Violent Wedding, sex and violence once more, seeks its tragic meaningfulness in the "violent wedding" of two sub-worlds of the urban north: artistic bohemia and the prize ring. "Baby" James, a middleweight whose physique and fighting style — "lean," "lythe," "cool," "tigerish" — are based on those of Ray Robinson, has a brief, inarticulate love affair with Laine Brendan, a Village artist and a renegade from middle-class respectability. He sees in her an interesting diversion. But she sees him as a black angel, "a vision of courage, and beauty too," and immortalizes him in an abstract painting that, in the midst of multiple ropes, blood, squared rings, shows him "puzzled." Since life follows art, he does become "puzzled," and his cool commercial attitude momentarily is upset. But each finally reaches the desired or secret end, he the middleweight champion, she a suicide.

The publishers say this novel is "written with all the impact of a left to the jaw," and with due allowance for promotional fervor, one must agree that *The Violent Wedding* is written cleanly and surely. The sardonic nihilism of the tiger and the pathetic despair of the lady are conveyed with economy and authenticity.

John Sanford's *The Land That Touches Mine*, blood and guts again, deals with a third and perhaps more major component of America, as opposed to either rural South or urban North, the still fluid, endlessly peripatetic world of the Southwest—a world in which the automobile is as life-giving as water and in which the "drive-in" represents what the Cathedral did to the Middle-Ages: communality.

But *The Land That Touches Mine* is even more authentically and genuinely *Americana* for its style than for its substance. It is a curious blend of the sociological document, of which Dos Passos was the atavus, and of that ubiquitous "hard - boiled - ness" — Hemingway by way of James M. Cain—which the pressures of America have produced.

"It's too hot to struggle standing up. Life is full of broken glass," says one of the characters. Did any one, American or other, ever talk like this? The answer of course is "No," and the impulsion behind this colorful stoicism is literary rather than experiential. For this novel follows a genre—a real one—which is perched precariously between the high art of Hemingway and the naked sadism of the Mickey Spillanes. Like all genres it has a fairly rigid set of conventions, and in its practice skill is a function not in originality but in manipulation of the counters of the game.

A lonely, rootless hero, driven by guilt, a tight-lipped heroine who offers him absolute protection, pursuit by the forces of law and order, a profound ambiguity in human relationships which run to two essentially uncivilized extremes — violent, intuitive hostilities, periodically broken through by an exhibition of the naked bleeding heart, a style marked by both understatement and violence: all these elements are skillfully woven into *The Land That Touches Mine*. At the end when the deserting soldier is taken away by an M.P., tipped off to his presence by the girl, who out of pure love realizes she must make her man face the conse-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quences of his acts for the first time in his life—as he is led off, and she follows, mumbling so of her love and devotion for him, until even the M.P. feels sorry for her and urges the soldier to speak, he finally says, "Thanks."

Each chapter is introduced by a Dos Passos-like poem which, in sum, gives a chronicle of American history up to Woodrow Wilson and the first World War. The total effect is disillusionment—"Vaster now than ever, stronger, flashier, louder, even so we've dwindled in their [the rest of the world's] eyes. . . ." But still hero (and the author) refuse to give up the patina of what used to be called the American Dream: ". . . then once more the dream came to him . . . stream in the open air—great thunderheads, and water, and trees that were women in the wind." In the cloudy gap between the Promise and the Fulfillment there still lies the Dream.

Vercors' *You Shall Know Them*, larger in scope but certainly lesser in power than the preceding novels, explicitly asks the question that the three American books lead the reader to ask: "What is Man?"

As befits the most consciously intelligent (and one of the most troubled) of the Western nations, France has for sometime been posing this quintessential question. Here, in the satirical tradition of Anatole France, Vercors tells of an English archaeological expedition which discovers a race of creatures—"tropis" they are named—that exists precisely on the borderland between man and ape. The plot consists of the bringing to a legal issue the legal definition of the "tropis" as either man or animal.

The case finally goes to Parliament which stands symbolically for the collective intelligence of mankind faced with the necessity of defining itself. Mankind equivocates, as usual. Still there is a victory of sorts, since the "tropis" are declared human and are given title to the joys and miseries of that estate.

You Shall Know Them is as flaccid emotionally as it is intriguing intellectually. The characters are flat stereotypes, the satire often labored and obvious, the style pedestrian and entirely lacking in that eloquence that good French commonly produces when translated into good English. But of course *Hamlet* itself does not settle, indeed complicates, the issue raised by this novel, and man will no doubt remain a mystery, especially to himself. JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

I HEAR OLIVIER SINGING

by Eric Bentley

THE LEAST OF MY worries, seeing the film of *The Beggar's Opera*, is that Sir Laurence can't really sing. A worse singer could have done the part of Macbeth greater justice. Olivier's singing is not only feeble but phony: he slows down the tempi and vainly attempts *bel canto* where a brisk, semi-musical "acting" would have been not only acceptable but preferable to a good, purely musical rendition. And it is his limitation as an actor which the new film brings sharply to our attention.

Looking back over Sir Laurence's career, or on that part of it which one has personally witnessed, one recalls that he has almost as often been bad as good. Among the failures I would list Hamlet, Romeo, Shaw's Caesar, and Fry's Duke of Altair; among the triumphs Henry V, Mercutio, Hotspur, Uncle Vanya, and, more doubtfully, Oedipus and Shallow. Generalizing, I would say that Olivier either leaves a character vague or plays a single trait. The vagueness of his Romeo, his Hamlet, and his Antony was fatal, as was the reduction of Shaw's Caesar to the single trait of senescence. On the other hand, the vagueness of his Henry V was providential, while a single trait is all that Hotspur—or almost any character part—possesses.

Such parts sound one note apiece. Great major roles sound at least two notes which form a dissonance. Confronted with a great major role an actor needs more than a handsome physique and charm of personality. And he must be more than a character actor; he must be an actor.

The role of Macheath is a case in point. The "dissonance" here, to be sure, is not that of modern psychology; Macheath is not "a complicated person." It is principally a dissonance as between manner and matter. The one is artificial, the other real. The form is that of musical comedy, the substance that of actual villainy. Olivier's failure in the realm of musical comedy would have mattered no more than his failure in the realm of pure musicianship had it not been redoubled by a failure in the realm of reality. His highwayman is not only no singer, he is not only no musical comedian; he is no highwayman. The lightness of John Gay's manner is in direct, not inverse, ratio to his seriousness as a satirist; if his *Beggar's Opera* says nothing, it *is* nothing.

The nullity of the film cannot be attributed solely to limitations in either Sir Laurence's technique or his powers of characterization. It must in great part be laid at the door of the adaptor, Christopher Fry, and the director, Peter Brook.

Let us not underestimate the difficulty of revivals. To exhume a work is not to revive it, however prettily you dress up the skeleton; to breathe life into it you must either recapture the very spirit of the original or by new insight create new life. To present *The Beggar's Opera* today you could either do a "primitive" production, an imaginative, not antiquarian, version of the early 18th century, or a "modern" production, an imaginative, not modish, recasting of the whole story.

Brecht and Weill tried the "modern" method and gave us the best of modern musical comedies, *The Threepenny Opera*. The 20th-century English stage has never quite dared either to go forward to any idea of its own or back to the idea of John Gay. We must be glad that Nigel Playfair did the play in 1920 even if he drew its teeth by taking literally the word "opera" in its title. We must be glad that (in 1939) John Gielgud re-directed it, lifted the incubus of opera off it, and handed it back to the actors. But it was for the next major artists who should take up the play to demonstrate that it was more than jolly good tunes and a naughty story.

By the standards of current English theatre, Christopher Fry and Peter Brook are major artists, but it would be foolish to pretend that the result of handing over *The Beggar's Opera* to them was unpredictable: in these hands the swords of satire would inevitably be turned, not indeed to ploughshares, but to prunes and prisms. True, the naughty story is still there, and so are all the jolly good tunes except those that are sung exclusively by Sir Laurence. The parts of Polly and Lucy, Peachum and Lockit are well sung and well acted; and interpolation, far from being impertinent, almost saves the show when it gives new lines and actions to that great character actress, Athene Seyler (as Mrs. Trapes). Even translation to the screen is not always, as such, a degradation: there are moments—in Macheath's progress to the gallows, for instance—which are better than the staging would be. And though on the whole it is annoying to have actors singing to each other or to themselves rather than to the audience, there are times in the film when their quasi-naturalistic procedure almost becomes a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

style: Peachum and Lockiet make an amiable ballet out of eating and passing their plates.

If the Brook and Fry *Beggar's Opera* were *all* prunes and prisms—were fully assimilated to the New Rococo—it would have a style throughout, though not one that would be congenial to John Gay or his admirers. The trouble with the film is that it is imbued with *no* convictions. Neither "primitive" nor "modern" it nods frequently in both these directions and all possible others. A Ph.D. thesis could, and probably will, be written on the influences that have gone to its making, from the opening à la Hogarth to the closing à la Brueghel, from a dwarf lifted from Cocteau's *Eternal Return* to a discourse on art and life lifted from Pirandello. All this and technicolor too.

The challenge of Gay's masterpiece remains. *The Beggar's Opera* was a historic event in 1728—not because it made fun of opera but because it was at once a fulfilment of the Restoration idea of comedy and a corrective to it—and in 1953 it continues to beckon, because, alone in our tradition, it shows us the full power of a non-operatic, musical theatre.

ACCENT for Summer 1953 (Vol. 13, No. 3)

POETRY—
WALLACE STEVENS: The Planet on the Table
RANDALL JARRELL: The Sphinx's Riddle to Oedipus
LOUIS ZUKOFSKY: Spooks' Sabbath (etc.)
FOUR CALIFORNIA POETS
Melissa Blake — Don Gordon
Charlotte Marletto — Joan White

FICTION—
DANIEL CURLEY: The Night of the Two Wakes
FRANK HOLWERDA: Char on Raven's Bench

CRITICISM—
ROBERT M. ADAMS: Yeats Without Myth
WARREN CARRIER: Stevens' Pagan Vantage
JAMES HAFLEY: On 'Between the Acts'
SHERMAN PAUL: Symbolism in the American Renaissance
GORDON N. RAY: The Bennett Problem

A Summer Bargain on Back Issues

Many back issues are altogether or almost out of stock. Take advantage of a temporary offer: a selection of 24 still-available issues from Volumes 6-12, totaling $8.30, for

HALF-PRICE—$4.15

Includes Porter, Cummings, Ferguson, Blackmur, Schwartz, Powers, Sansom, Mizener, Goyen, Svevo, Hesse, Eberhart, Aragon, Gregory, Caroline Gordon, Pasternak, Williams, Margaret Webster, Burke, etc.; articles on Faulkner, Gide, Conrad, Waugh, Keats, Hardy, Eluard, Shaw, Empson, Lorca, Melville, Sartre, Bishop, Auden, Unamuno, Woolf, James, Warren, Lindsay, Pound, Hopkins, Ransom, Shakespeare, Tate, Crane, Joyce, Eliot, etc.

ACCENT, 102 University Station
Urbana, Illinois
Enclosed:
——$1.50 for 1 year ——$4.15 for 24 back issues
——$2.50 for 2 years ——40c for a sample copy
Name.....
Address.....
City & State.....

THE RECORD REVIEW

by Robert Evett

JEANNE D'ARC AU BUCHER, music by Arthur Honegger; text by Paul Claudel (Columbia; SL 178).

THIS DRAMATIC ORATORIO, for chorus, singers, speakers and large orchestra, was used by Eugene Ormandy last season as a display piece for the Philadelphia Orchestra, and his superb performance has been wonderfully recorded. Unfortunately, *Jeanne d'Arc* is one of Honegger's weakest works musically; it tends to impress by weight.

The orchestration is as brilliant as it is rich, and the timing is effective in the spacing of its climaxes; the superficial glitter of the score makes the first hearing the most impressive. In this instance, if my experience is indicative, familiarity is likely to breed the contempt it is supposed to breed.

Claudel's elaborately wrought libretto not only provides the whole intellectual substance of the work, but grows in strength as its involutions and conceits manifest themselves. The listener who concentrates on the poetry will probably be irritated by the interruptions of the *grand potpourri de concert* which Honegger has contrived as an accompaniment for it. Sung in French, the album contains the complete text and a very bad translation which serves as a pony.

SONATA FOR SOLO VIOLIN and CONTRASTS, by Bela Bartok (Bartok; BRS 916).

The Bartok Sonata, here given a definitive performance by Robert Mann, combines the beauty and profundity of the Bach Sonatas with the black-magical pyrotechnics of the Paganini Etudes. *Contrasts*, though less rewarding musically, receives a brilliant performance from Mr. Mann, with Leonid Hambro and Stanley Drucker. The recording is excellent..

QUARTET NUMBER ONE, by John Vincent (Contemporary; C 2002).

John Vincent's early and bland Quartet, as recorded here, receives rather better treatment than it deserves. The performance, by the American Art Quartet, is excellent, and the recording very good. Contemporary Records plans to issue a number of works by lesser-known American composers. Such a series could be of great value if only good works are included; this one is not good enough.

TWELVE VARIATIONS ON A THEME BY HANDEL, by Ludwig von Beethoven; ARIAS, by J. S. Bach and W. A. Mozart (Columbia; ML 4640).

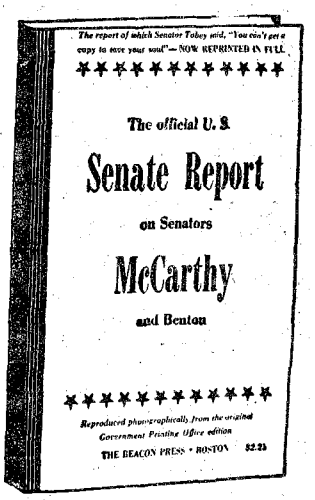
Pau Casals and Rudolph Serkin have produced, as you would expect, a beautiful performance of these very early Beethoven Variations. Beethoven himself apparently took a poor view of this music, which he omitted from his list of *opera*.

Like these Variations, the Bach and Mozart Arias were recorded at the Perpignan Festival a year ago. The sole Bach Aria is given a mediocre reading; but the unfamiliar Mozart pieces are beautifully sung by Jennie Tourel.

Notes on the Critics

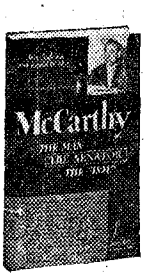
STEPHEN SPENDER, the English poet, with this essay joins the staff of *NR* Contributing Critics. ERNEST J. SIMMONS of Columbia University's Russian Institute, published *Through the Glass of Soviet Literature*. JOHN H. RALEIGH of California reviews fiction regularly for the *NR*.

Now you can get it...



400 pages
$2.25

And at the same time:



McCARTHY: The Man, the Senator, the "Ism"

By Jack Anderson and Ronald May $3.75

On "outstanding books of the year" list of N.Y. Times

The Beacon Press, Boston
At your bookseller's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Our Readers

Mount Morris Dam

Replying to the criticism (*NR*, May 29) by Mrs. George S. Brooks of the dam at Mount Morris, N. Y., on the Genesee River in connection with which she speaks of "The Republican Era of Good Stealing." It might interest her to know that this dam is politically a Democratic Party proposition, designed and built during the Administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. It was finished in the summer of 1952, before Eisenhower was even nominated for the Presidency.

The Mount Morris Dam is unique in that the federal government did not spend a single cent for the lands flooded by the operation of the dam, all of them were donated by the Rochester Gas and Electric Corporation who some 25 years back bought them for a projected power dam.

Considered solely as a power proposition the Mount Morris Dam could not even today compete with steam in the production of low-cost electricity, by reason of the high interest charges on the large investment as compared with the power output. Of course if this investment were to be placed against the taxpayers of the nation at large, like some similar projects, a different and false picture of power costs could be presented.

It is true that in building the dam provision was made for "possible future," power development, as called for in the Federal Flood Control Acts, however, no generators have been installed and there appears no immediate prospect that they will be. Increases of a few dollars in the cost of coal might render a hydroelectric plant at Mount Morris commercially feasible.

South of Rochester the Genesee Valley is primarily agricultural and the rather limited need for electric power is already adequately met by existing sources.

During the Administration of President Roosevelt construction of the dam was approved as a flood-control measure to protect the City of Rochester from disastrous floods of which there were a number in the past and also to protect the farm lands along the river.

The writer lives on a farm bordering on the Genesee River, he has seen the low spots flooded many times and even gone over the fences in a boat. In the Spring of 1952, when the dam was only partially operative, there was some slight flooding, but this year there was none at all despite an exceptionally heavy run off.

It is the opinion of the writer based on personal observation that the Mount Morris Dam is well managed for flood control and presumably the production of electric power at Rochester. He sees nothing to indicate that the R. G. & E. Corp. " . . . plays both ends to squeeze the middle class."

When contracts for construction of the dam were drawn it is evident that the Federal Power Commission considered the terms offered by the owner of the needed property, along some 16 miles of river, were fair. Surely the R. G. & E. Corp. was entitled to some return of the thousands of dollars spent on surveys and land purchases. The privilege of regulating the flow of the river so far, as not inconsistent with flood control, was a small concession for such a gift.

As regulation of the river benefits both agriculture and the power interests, there seems no valid reason why the R. G. & E. Corp. should not operate the dam. This arrangement apparently is satisfactory to the Federal Power Commission, even though it does keep a few people off the government pay roll.

This letter is prompted by the writer's sense of fair play, he has no stock or other interest in the R. G. & E. Corp., or in any public service corporation.

Avon, N. Y. HENRY R. SELDEN

Psychoceramic

NR may have been the first journal to print the term "Psychoceramic" for crackpots, but it was first uttered by Dr. Wallace Sterling, President of Stanford University.

The writer heard it at the Stanford Conference in Los Angeles on March 22, 1953.

NR continues to be an exceptional medium for real news and important facts.

Santa Ana, Calif. JAMES E. WALKER

Syngman Rhee

It seems to me that your recent characterization of Syngman Rhee as a "ward heeler" elevated into the stature of a statesman is completely unjust. Your outburst was caused by his opposition to the suggested terms for a truce in Korea by which President Eisenhower is trying to appease the isolationist wing of his party.

I submit that Mr. Rhee's opposition to these terms is justified.

To begin with, the United Nations went into the war against the North Korean-Chinese Communist aggression to do two things; to stop aggression, and to unify Korea on the basis of free elections which would contemplate competing candidates and a secret ballot. The second of these objectives will be sacrificed by the suggested truce terms.

The proposed truce terms represent substantial defeat for our side. They give to the Communist aggressors the right to rebuild airplane bases in North Korea so that they can bring the whole of the Republic of (South) Korea under air attack and even our bases in Japan. They require us to withdraw our naval vessels from North of the 38th Parallel where they have freely ranged during all the fight heretofore. They also require us to withdraw from islands off the coast of Korea, North of the 38th Parallel, that we have occupied and on which we have established valuable radar observation bases.

Mr. Rhee's freeing of the Korean prisoners is something that should have been done long ago, for all of these prisoners were anti-Communists, and among them were South Koreans forced to fight on the Communist side against their will.

His insistence on a United States treaty to guarantee his country or what is left of it against another Communist invasion is certainly reasonable, if there is any validity at all in our principle of stopping and opposing aggression by the united action of all peace-loving countries as a necessary preliminary to preventing war.

Mr. Rhee has been a devoted and determined opponent of alien (Japanese) rule of his country ever since 1909 when the Japanese first seized his land. He has never faltered or weakened, even in times when the outlook was dark, in his determination to see his country free from alien control, whether by Japanese imperialists or Chinese Communists. That sort of courage and determination in pursuit of a principle is not the mark of a "ward heeler"; and I believe you owe Mr. Rhee and your readers an apology for so characterizing him.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y. ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

NR Builder

I am what is left, sometimes, after polio has taken its course; I have no fixed income, no job. But I am sending our magazine a new subscription weekly until it again is financially anchored and has a more fitting circulation.

Why not leave the work for someone better able?

The answer is nice and it is easy: There is no one better able than the one who values a thing so highly as to be willing to struggle to support it.

Milford, Calif. NARNIA WEMPLE

Francis Parkman

I am just wondering why Kenneth Rexroth wrote (*NR*, June 29) that Francis Parkman "was not a very good writer." Rexroth's judgment, in this case, seems somewhat perverse considering Parkman's reputation and the high regard in which he is currently held by historians. Parrington in describing Parkman's achievements says that "the Brahmin mind has contributed to American letter no more brilliant work than came from his pen." And Van Wyck Brooks writes that Park-

(Continued on page 23)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Our Readers

Daumier's painting, *The Uprising*, reproduced below, is part of the Washington collection of a frequent *NR* contributor, Duncan Phillips. It is, Mr. Phillips holds, "not only one of the greatest paintings of the nineteenth century but of all time." It represents the 1848 rebellion witnessed by Daumier, and Mr. Phillips notes: "The Paris of its background might be the enslaved Europe of today. . . . In Daumier's masterpiece the praise is for the visionaries of the forlorn hopes and of the apparently lost causes, the inexhaustible insurgencies of men everywhere against oppression . . . the leader of Daumeir's revolution is the eternal nomad of the questing spirit. Blind to the immediate consequences of his words and acts, haunted by the future, he is the anonymous standard bearer of innumerable battles without name."

For Daumier, Mr. Phillips concludes, the 1848 uprising was part of "the epic movement in the history of freedom." In his article in this issue, Thomas Goldstein sees the uprising in East Germany of June, 1953, this movement's latest expression. Mr. Goldstein writes of his own people, for he was born and raised in Berlin, the son of the editor of a liberal Berlin newspaper, the *Voss-sche Zeitung*. As chief commentator for the German Service of the Voice of America, he reviewed all the available material on the uprising and spoke daily, throughout its brief history, to the East Zone audience. He notes, "I feel as if I have been talking with people in the Soviet Zone all through these events."

Other commentators have emphasized the nationalist nature of the uprising. Mr. Goldstein stresses its commitment to democracy. Many Washington officials fear that despair has followed the Soviet repression of the uprising. Perhaps Mr. Goldstein's most significant assertion is his belief that the mood of East Germany is not one of despair. In later articles he will advance his analysis of the consequences of the East German revolt.

M. S.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

man's books are 'masterpieces of historical story-telling" and that he was the first to discover the importance of the "history of the American Forest" and to realize the significance of the clash between the contrary civilizations of England and France.
Fresh Meadows, N. Y. MICHAEL ARONSON

Mr. Truman

Could some physicist in your editorial staff explain the phenomenon that the further the figure of Truman recedes, the bigger it appears?
Tanwood, N. J. GEORGE W. LORD

Bandwagon

"This," Senator McCarthy said, "is hardly an attack upon the Protestant clergymen. The letters that Matthews has received from Protestant clergymen concerning his article run 10 to one in approval of the article."

Mr. McCarthy did not bring out the way in which the country's Protestant clergy had been able to appraise the article in advance of its appearance on the newsstands yesterday. – *From a report in the New York* Times, *July 3, 1953.*

A warning against over-confidence was given San Francisco Young Republicans last night.

"We mustn't be lulled into thinking we have done such a good job that there is nothing left to do," declared Donald Eastvold, Washington State attorney general. – *From the San Francisco* News, *July 1, 1953.*

"Henry K. Evans, highway transportation specialist with the United States Chamber of Commerce, spoke in a panel discussion on how to prevent government encroachment on the parking industry. . . .

"He branded municipal-parking operations as socialism and totalitarianism." – *From the Washington* Evening Star, *July 3, 1953.*

"Bob Taft has personally abandoned all Presidential ambitions and has every motive to make a success of his party's return to power. The chances are that he will remain absolutely loyal to the President . . . unless faced with a real nationwide revolt of the conservative Republicans. These he must follow because he is their leader." – *Jay Franklin as reported by Fulton Lewis Jr. in the Los Angeles* Examiner, *June 26, 1953.*

MAGAZINE

"HOW TO BE SANE THOUGH NEGRO"—lead article on psychology of minority groups in current issue of *ETC.*, official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write *Etc*, Dept. 22, 539 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

A New Pamphlet
WHAT PATH FOR INDIA?
by GERHARD HAGELBERG
NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY
AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS INDIA
20¢ a copy
Write to
FAR EAST REPORTER
103 W. 93rd St., NY 25, n. y.

MERRIEWOODE
FOR ADULTS • HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile Lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water-Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Arts & Crafts, Square & Folk Dancing Instruction • Planned Evening Entertainment • Congenial Crowd • Non-Sectarian.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Send for Picture Folder R Phone: Hancock 96 Ring 13

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate—Limited to 90—Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports • Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE — FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • CIrcle 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Dir.

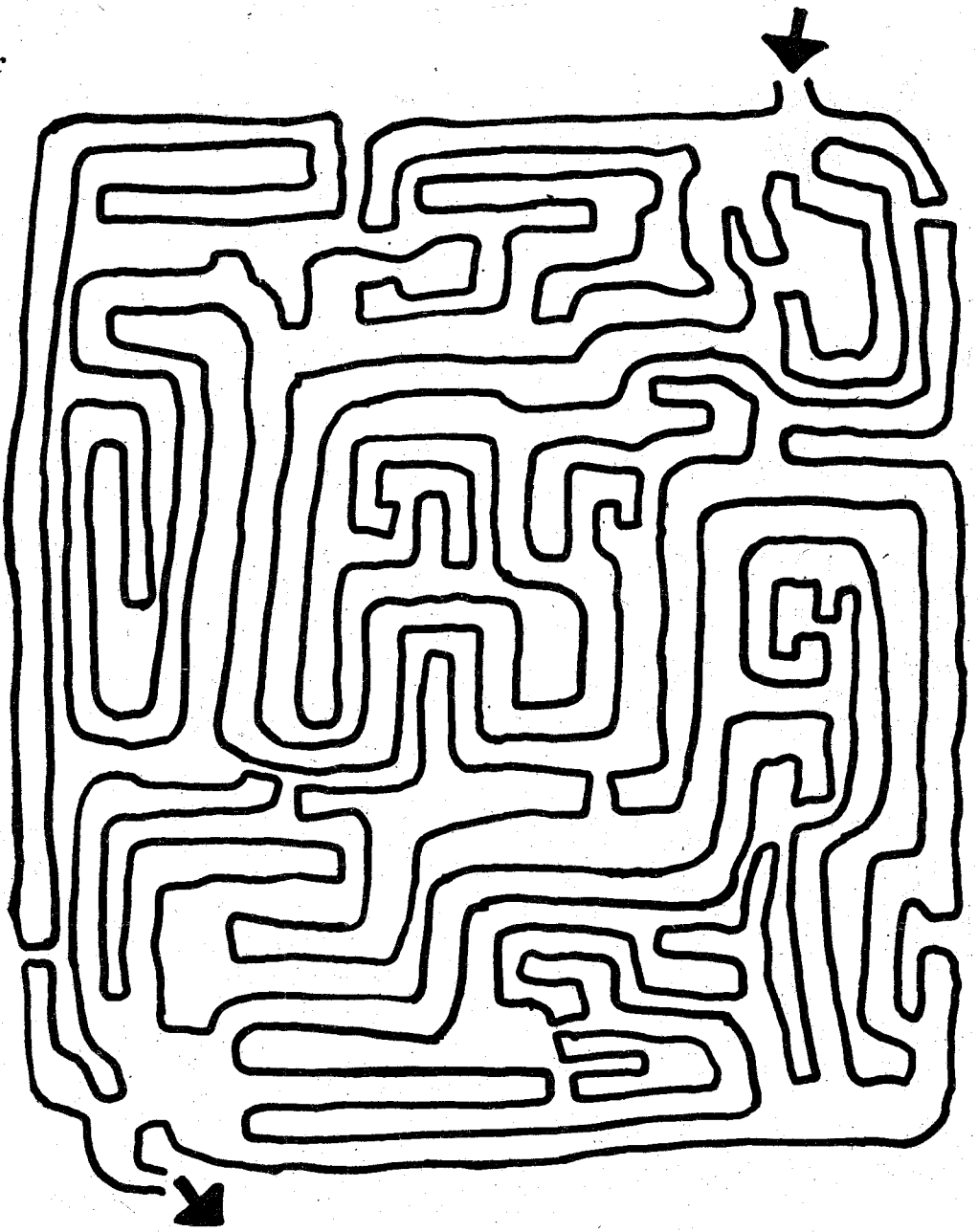
Jack Gilford, Avon Long, Norman Atkins, Hillel & Aviva, John Garth, Kay Medford, Pete Seeger, Paul Bain Trio, Elton Warren, Orson Bean and Jerry Jarrett are among our famous Guest Stars.
ALL-SUMMER TENNIS JAMBOREE
With The Nicest People Ever...On Our Fast Clay And All-Weather Courts
FREE Week-End Winner WEEKLY
ASK ABOUT OUR FULL PROGRAM
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
New York Office: Phone MUrray Hill 3-2979
ALL SPORTS
LAKE & POOL
ENTERTAINMENT
Instruction in
SQUARE, FOLK
AND SOCIAL
DANCING
CRAFTS, CERAMICS
PAINTING &
SCULPTURE
Plus
FINE FOOD
COCKTAIL BAR
NEW STUDIO HOUSE
GOLF PUTTING &
DRIVING RANGE

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

➔Can you find your way?

CAN YOU FIND your way through the maze of news, views, opinions, reports, rumors – through the millions of words published daily, weekly and monthly about what's happening in the world?



NEW REPUBLIC will help you understand the meaning of the news – give you guideposts to history in the making . . . and the progress of modern liberalism. Start reading *NR* today!

TEAR OFF HERE

NEW REPUBLIC • 230 West 41st Street • New York 36, N. Y.

Please send the *New Republic* beginning with the July 27 issue.

☐ New or gift subscription ☐ 1 year at $7

☐ Extend present subscription ☐ 2 years for $12

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... STATE.....

Gift Card to read from.....

NRB-29

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED